

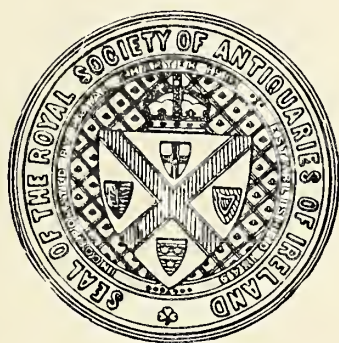


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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND



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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1959

KNIGHT SERVICE IN IRELAND

By Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, *Member*

THE system of military feudalism imposed by the Normans on their conquests in Ireland inevitably followed the general pattern with which they had been familiar in England.¹ But though the circumstances of the first generation of conquerors in Ireland were in many respects similar to those of their ancestors in England a hundred years earlier, the whole structure of society was already in rapid change by the time the conquest of Ireland began, while, though Henry II intervened in Ireland at an early stage of the conquest, it was not initiated and carried out by the king in the way that the conquest of England had been organized by the duke of Normandy in 1066. There were, therefore, certain modifications. In the first place, nearly half of the military service owed to the crown in Ireland was due from four great tenants—100 knights for Leinster, 50 from Meath, and 60 from the two grantees of Cork.² This represented a far greater concentration of power in the hands of individual subjects, holding compact blocks of land, than the Conqueror had allowed to occur in England. In the second place, whereas in England the Conqueror had imposed tenure by military service on all bishoprics and important abbeys (and his son had found reason to complain that their contingents were

¹For the structure of English feudalism at the time the conquest of Ireland began, see F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism* (Oxford, 1932).

²The total number of knights owed to the crown in Ireland was about 425 (see below, p. 5). By the middle of the thirteenth century Leinster had of course been divided among a large number of Marshal heirs, and Meath between de Genville and de Verdun (see G. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans* (4 vols., Oxford, 1911-20), III, pp. 79-107. 260-1). For Henry II's grant of Cork to Robert fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan and its descent, see *ibid.*, II, chapter 13 *passim*.

unsatisfactory), in Norman Ireland the lands of the church were held in frankalmoign, or sometimes in fee farm, with certain quite unimportant exceptions.³ An enormous amount of land was thus at once removed from the scope of the system of military feudalism. Moreover, grants in fee farm—hereditary tenures liable not to military service but to a fixed rent—seem to have been more commonly used than in England, though for sub-tenants rather than for tenants in chief, while military sub-tenants quite commonly owed a fee farm rent in addition to military service or scutage.⁴ Tenure by serjeanty⁵ seems, on the other hand, to have been less used than in England, probably because it was already obsolescent in the late twelfth century. One curious serjeanty was created (or perhaps only continued) as late as 1207 by the grant to Richard le Latimer of

³ Among the chief exceptions were the grant of Coillacht to the see of Dublin, to be held by the service of one knight (*Crede Mihi*, ed. J. T. Gilbert (Dublin, 1897), p. 33; Sweetman, *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, I, no. 849; IV, no. 104) and 2/3 of a service owed by the archbishop of Armagh for lands in co. Louth (38th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland, p. 72). Though the grant of Coillacht speaks simply of the service of one knight, it was among the fees for which it was later claimed that service should be done in person at the gate of the castle of Dublin (see below, pp. 7-9). Grants of sub-tenancies to the church might also involve it in obligations of military service (*Calendar of Deeds in the Pembroke Estate Office* (Dublin, 1891), no. 4; *Crede Mihi*, pp. 50-51). It should be observed that ecclesiastics sometimes had military tenants themselves (*The Red Book of Ormond*, ed. N. B. White (Irish MSS. Commission, 1932), pp. 86-7; *Rotulus Pipae Clonensis*, ed. R. Caulfield (Cork, 1859), *passim*). That they held in frankalmoign did not of itself exempt ecclesiastics from the general obligation of all free landholders to share in the burden of local defence, though some of the abbeys intermittently established such an exemption (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1339-41, p. 244; *Charter of St. Mary's [Abbey, Dublin]*, ed. J. T. Gilbert (2 vols., Rolls Series, 1884), I, pp. 302-3; *Calendar of Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Hiberniae*, ed. E. Tresham (Record Commissioners, 1828), pp. 45, 89, 92, 105).

⁴ See below, p. 6. Serjeanty tenures required homage and gave the lord reliefs and the rights of wardship, marriage and escheat as in the case of military tenures, with which they may be classed for many purposes. The position of the fee-farm tenures varied: the chief lords in Ireland claimed the same rights of wardship and marriage as if they had been military tenures, particularly if they required homage, but also apparently when they did not. In 1285 the English court *coram rege*, citing a case before the itinerant justices at Cashel in 1267, ruled that because the law ought to be one and the same in England and Ireland (see below, p. 15), and in England the chief lords have no rights in the custodies of tenements held of them, by reason of homage, unless the tenants are bound to render some military service, such wardships belonged not to the lord, but to the next heirs (*C.D.I.*, III, no. 58). The claim, however, continued to be made, and in 1331 the order of 1285 was repeated (*Public Record Office*, London, Ancient Petition no. 13051; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1330-33, pp. 203-4). It seems, however, that by the fifteenth century such tenancies had been assimilated to military tenancies as far as wardship, marriage and reliefs were concerned, the local custom having prevailed over English law (H. J. Lawlor, 'A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. XXVII, section C, no. 1, pp. 30-31). In the fourteenth century extent of the lands of the bishop of Cloyne wardship is specified for many fee-farm tenures (*Rotulus Pipae Clonensis*, *passim*).

⁵ Tenure by the performance of public services, often of a non-military or only quasi-military character. See E. G. Kimball, *Serjeanty Tenures in Medieval England* (New Haven and London, 1936), and A. L. Poole, *Obligations of Society in the XII and XIII Centuries* (Oxford, 1946), chapter IV.

lands as held by his father to hold of the king by the service of interpreting (*latimeriae faciendae*) in Co. Dublin,⁶ but the chief example of this tenure that we know of in Ireland is the existence in almost every county of a chief serjeant—the sheriff's principal assistant—who held the office and the land attached to it in fee and inheritance either from the king or the lord of the liberty.⁷

We are concerned, however, with the strictly military tenures, and these were constituted much on the English pattern. As we have seen,⁸ nearly half the service owed to the crown was concentrated in large blocks in Leinster, Meath and Cork, and here the royal officials dealt directly either with the lord of a liberty, or with a relatively small number of parceners. Dublin,⁹ on the other hand, apart from the very extensive lands of the church in this county—well over half the total area—and the royal demesne lands in Newcastle Lyons, Esker, Saggart, Crumlin and Newcastle, Co. Wicklow, was divided among some thirty-seven small tenants in chief, most of them holding by the service of half a knight, or less. Other counties varied between these two extremes. It should be observed that the holding of a fractional fee did not mean that personal service was impossible: Westpalstown. co. Dublin, owed the service of one foot serjeant, which was equated with the service of $\frac{1}{8}$ knight when a scutage was taken.¹⁰ More awkward fractions might arise by division among heiresses, or might be deliberately created after the idea of personal service had been abandoned. There does not seem to be any trace in Ireland of small military tenants combining to furnish a knight, though it is not impossible that this occurred, as it certainly did in England. There must, in any case, have been customary rules in Leinster, Meath, and all the greater holdings as to which of the subtenants should serve on any particular occasion when personal service was demanded, but no trace of what these rules may have been has survived.¹¹

The original purpose of these tenures had, of course, been to put an

⁶ *C.D.I.*, I, no. 342.

⁷ In Dublin the office (sometimes called the serjeanty of Leinster) was held with the ploughland of Mallahow by Henry Tyrel, to whom it was granted by John when count of Mortain, and later by the family of Crus (*Cal[endar of] Pat[ent] Rolls*, 1334-8, pp. 415-6). In Meath it was held by the family of Bacun, to whom it must have been granted by the de Lacys, and who in the second half of the thirteenth century and later exercised it in both the liberty of Trim and the royal county of Meath. For these chief serjeants in general, see J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Anglo-Irish Shire Government in the Thirteenth Century', in *Irish Historical Studies*, V, pp. 21-26.

⁸ Above, p. 1.

⁹ Till 1606 the northern part of the modern co. Wicklow was included in co. Dublin, but a great part of this area was church land.

¹⁰ British Museum MSS. Royal 18 C XIV, f. 159, and Titus B XI, vol. II, f. 246 d. Other Dublin holdings were in the same position. In the manor of Thurles, co. Tipperary, each fee is said to answer for 5 armed men and one barded horse, but this was probably an assessment for purposes of local defence (*Red Book of Ormond*, pp. 71-3).

¹¹ Cf. Poole, *Obligations of Society in the XII and XIII Centuries*, pp. 40, 45-6.

army in the field whenever the crown required it.¹² But already by the time of the Norman conquest of Ireland the feudal host was ceasing to be a satisfactory form of military organization, and scutage, the money commutation for personal service with the host, had appeared in England as early as 1100, to be finally fixed in the thirteenth century at 40s. for each knight's fee. It was entirely within the king's discretion whether money or service was taken on any particular occasion, or from a particular tenant, and he had a theoretical right to levy it as often as he chose, provided that an army was actually put in the field, though the term of service had been limited by custom to forty days in any one year, and too frequent a levy would be greatly resented. Conditions in Ireland meant, however, that the occasion for a levy arose more frequently than in England.¹³ It was disputed in England whether personal service was due overseas; in Ireland the point seems never to have arisen, though in at least one case overseas service seems to have been performed in 1254.¹⁴

In Ireland instances of actual personal service with the army occur throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Sometimes individuals serve,¹⁵ occasionally a seneschal brings the forces of a liberty to serve under the king's banner.¹⁶ When in 1228 the justiciar led an expedition to Connaught, Nicholas de Verdun was directed by him to remain to guard the marches, and so rendered his service to the king: he successfully claimed exemption from scutage.¹⁷ As late as 1355 tenants by knight service seem to have come in person to Newcastle McKynegan (Newcastle, co. Wicklow) to do their service there.¹⁸ But in general military service in Ireland, particularly for the smaller tenants, seems to have been on a basis of scutage, if not quite from the first at any rate very early: as early as 1222 those holding of the king in Munster (*i.e.* the later counties of Tipperary and Limerick), Des (Waterford), Desmond and the vale of

¹² The intervention of Henry II ensured that this should be so in Ireland as in England: in the marches of Wales, from which so many of the conquerors of Ireland were drawn, and which had been conquered at the beginning of the twelfth century by the independent enterprise of their ancestors, uncontrolled by the crown, feudal organization was directed towards the military needs of each separate lordship, and could not be used by the crown in this way.

¹³ Cf. *C.D.I.*, II, no. 1801.

¹⁴ In 38 Henry III *Hugh Tyrel fecit servicium suum in exercitu domini Henrici regis ad guerram suam Vasconie sustinendum*. (P.R.O. London, C47/10/15, no. 5).

¹⁵ Pipe Roll 14 John, ed. D. B. Quinn, *Supp. Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1941, p. 52; 35th Rep. D.K., p. 38; 36th Rep. D.K., p. 73; 38th Rep. D.K., p. 60; 44th Rep. D.K., p. 21.

¹⁶ *C.D.I.*, I, no. 1581; 43rd Rep. D.K., p. 46.

¹⁷ *C.D.I.*, I, no. 1581. The de Verduns had been granted Dundalk to hold by the service of 20 knights, increased at some date before 1238 to the service of 22½ (P.R.O. London, C47/10/15, no. 3). In 1290 Geoffrey de Genville was directed by the justiciar and council to pay a third of the sum he owed for a scutage to Peter de Genville for the defence of the marches of Delven (P.R.O., London, C47/10/17, no. 5; *Cal[endar of] Justic[iary] Rolls [Ireland], 1305-7*, ed. J. Mills (Dublin, 1914), pp. 72, 73, 74, 83). Cf. 37th Rep. D.K., p. 55; *Cal. Justic. Rolls, 1305-7*, p. 242.

¹⁸ *Cal. Rot. Pat. et Claus.*, pp. 57, 62.

Dublin were ordered that when the justiciar went with an armed force into Ulster and Keneleon, or other remote parts, to fortify castles, etc., they were to render in money the service due to the king.¹⁹ These were all areas containing a comparatively large number of small tenants in chief: nothing is said of the liberties of Leinster and Meath, of Cork, or of Louth, which was mainly divided between the de Verduns and the Pippards. No doubt a few relatively large contingents could more easily be absorbed in the royal army than could the many small military tenants of the other areas.

The amount of military service actually due to the crown in Ireland was not very great. By the end of the thirteenth century a scutage at the rate of 40s. a fee brought in about £50 from Dublin, £73 16s. from Louth, £55 from Connaught, £123 10s. from Cork, £19 10s. 4d. from Waterford, £117 1s. 8d. from Tipperary, £102 13s. 8d. from Limerick, £200 from Leinster, £100 from Meath, and £6 from Ulster—a total of just under £850, representing not quite 425 fees.²⁰ But there were of course many more fees than this in the country, for all the greater tenants in chief had, as in England, created a much larger number of fees by subinfeudation than was needed to perform their bare quota of service, and the total received by the crown when a scutage was proclaimed was considerably increased if any of the great liberties were in the king's hand. Thus Meath, which owed the service of fifty knights to the crown, contained between 100 and 120 fees by the middle of the thirteenth century,²¹ and Leinster, which owed a hundred, seems to have contained about a hundred and eighty,²² while Ulster, assessed at only three, had $16\frac{7}{20}$ in

¹⁹ *C.D.I.*, I, no. 1048. The payment of scutage does not seem to have been recorded on the Irish pipe rolls before 1238 (P.R.O. London, C47/10/15, no. 3). For the special position of some of the Dublin tenants in chief, see below, pp. 7-9, but it should be noted that Hugh Tyrel of Castleknock served in person in the expedition to Maycove in 1253, for the Gascon war in 1254, and in the expedition to Greencastle in 1262, though he paid scutage for an expedition to Kymaleon in 1258 (P.R.O. London, C47/10/15, no. 5).

²⁰ For the documents on which this list is based, see below, pp. 11-13. The total varies slightly from time to time, and the sum due from Louth seems to have dropped to £57 15s. 4d. by the fifteenth century as the result of a considerable reduction in the service due from Ardee. A list of c. 1282 gives a total of 418½ fees and 19s. 10d. (*C.D.I.*, II, no. 2329); a slightly later one 427 fees and a fraction. (M. Bateson, 'Irish Exchequer Memoranda of the Reign of Edward I', *E[nglish] H[istorical] R[evue]*, XVIII, pp. 497-513). It seems probable that in the 1280s there was a general attempt to define and enforce all services due to the king. See below, p. 9. In 1372 the Irish exchequer was ordered not to enforce the payment of scutage for lands 'now by the Irish rebels wasted and occupied' (*Cal. Close Rolls, 1369-74*, pp. 380-1).

²¹ Cf. *Calendar of the Gormanston Register*, ed. J. Mills and M. J. McEnery (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1916), pp. 10-13. This is a list of the 59½ services and a fraction owed to de Genville; we have no list of the services owed to de Verdun, the other parcener of the de Lacy inheritance, but it is safe to assume that he had approximately the same number of fees in Meath.

²² There is no complete list of the knights' fees of Leinster, but the Marshal inheritance was divided into five shares, and each of the three parceners whose share is fully known to us got 36 fees and a fraction in Leinster. See *ante*, XLV, pp. 139-40. I hope to reconstruct the remaining two shares elsewhere.

1333.²³ This process, of course, went further down the scale: the more important sub-tenants themselves made a profit on each proclamation of a royal service. Thus an extent of the Butler lands in Carlow in 1303 shows that while the Butlers owed the lord of the liberty £8 for royal service, they took from their tenants £11 7s., and this at rates averaging about a third of the standard 40s. for a knight's fee.²⁴ In Tipperary 180 acres in Balilothnan were held of Otho de Grandison by James, son of Richard, who owed Otho 2s. for royal service; James's tenant of this land, William de Naungle, owed James 12s. for royal service.²⁵ Also in Tipperary, the Butlers owed the crown 6s. 8d. for the royal service of the lands held in the manor of Thurles by their tenant, Grimbald de Samlesbury: Grimbald owed them 10s. But with Grimbald himself, who held only a single fee, we have reached the level at which the immediate lord no longer made a profit at each proclamation of royal service, for his tenants owed only 3s. 4d. towards it.²⁶ We should observe that, as in this case, many subtenants who were said to hold one or more fees paid scutage at rates much lower than the standard 40s. for each fee. It seems likely that where this occurred it represented a recognition of the fact that these tenants were in a position exposed to constant attack by the Irish, and thus needed greater resources to meet their scutage obligations than those in the 'land of peace'. Many of John's grants to tenants in chief also require the service of fewer knights than the number of fees granted, no doubt with this intention.²⁷ Elsewhere, as in Meath and, apparently, Louth, the same result was achieved by varying the size of the knight's fee, which was half as large again in the marches.²⁸ It should be observed that the sub-tenant paying scutage not uncommonly paid a fee-farm rent as well.

When it had been decided to take a scutage—by the fourteenth century this was being done in parliaments,²⁹ and earlier was no doubt done in the great council of tenants in chief—the sheriffs and seneschals of the whole country were ordered to proclaim throughout their bailiwicks that all who owed service to the king should be before the justiciar at a specified day and place with horses and arms and suitable equipment to do their service.³⁰ The proclamation might be followed immediately by a

²³ *Cal[endar of] Inq[uisitions] P[ost] M[ortem]*, VII, pp. 377-8.

²⁴ *Red Book of Ormond*, pp. 2-3. It should be observed that in Ireland royal service is the term almost invariably used for scutage.

²⁵ *Cal[endar of the] Justic[iary] Rolls [of Ireland]*, 1308-14, ed. M. C. Griffith (Dublin, 1956), p. 130.

²⁶ *Red Book of Ormond*, pp. 7, 59-60.

²⁷ *C.D.I.*, I, *passim*. Cf. *Chart. St. Mary's*, I, pp. 65, 66.

²⁸ See below, p. 11.

²⁹ *Parliaments and Councils of Medieval Ireland*, ed. H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles (Irish MSS. Commission, 1947), pp. 9-10.

³⁰ Armagh Public Library MS. G.II. 13, f. 6d; *Cal. Rot. Pat. et Claus.*, p. 9; *C.D.I.*, V, nos. 62, 63, 64.

writ ordering the sheriffs to take the service in money, but our sources are so imperfect that we cannot be certain whether this was usual and necessary or not, though it is reasonable to suppose that it was.³¹ It is interesting to note that during the reign of Henry III, though not apparently later, half a service—i.e. a scutage at the rate of 20s. a fee—was sometimes taken,³² and it was established practice in the early part of the reign to grant to a subject the service due from a specified area, sometimes for the full period of forty days, sometimes for only twenty, to aid him in fortifying a castle, a practice which sometimes occurs under Edward I, while c. 1319 the Earl of Kildare petitioned the king to grant him *ses services en Irlande en eyde daler en Thochemound pur venger la mort Sire Richard de Clare, qi morust en service nostre seigneur le rey*.³³

Service in the army—the *expeditio* of feudal documents—though the most usual was not, of course, the only possible duty of a military tenant. Castle-guard, or garrison duty, had been of great importance in the early days of Norman feudalism in England, and was certainly a dominant feature in the subinfeudation of the marcher lordships of South Wales,³⁴ from which so many of the Norman conquerors of Ireland were drawn. There is no clear evidence of the position in Ireland, but castleries, areas in which subinfeudation was organized primarily to provide a garrison for a castle, are mentioned in the first generation of the conquest in connection with co. Louth,³⁵ and in 1335 it was stated that Walter Slynberge, who died shortly before 1332, had held five ploughlands and 100 acres of the Earl of Ulster by the service of 6d. and suit at the earl's court of Carrickfergus, and finding an armed man for the tower called Pollardstoure in the castle of Carrickfergus in time of war, and another man with two barded horses in time of the earl's war.³⁶ This service is not mentioned in the inquisitions taken after the murder of the Brown Earl in 1333, and it is probable that there were other unrecorded tenures of the same type in this area.

A group of tenancies in co. Dublin presents some curious features: their service was to be performed in guarding the city of Dublin, or at the gate of the castle of Dublin, and their genesis is most probably the

³¹ *Cal. Rot. Pat. et Claus.*, p. 11.

³² *35th Rep. D.K.*, p. 42; *Gormanston Register*, p. 13.

³³ *C.D.I.*, I, *passim*; *Cal. Justic. Rolls, 1295-1303*, p. 230; *C.D.I.*, V, no. 48; P.R.O. London, Ancient Petition no. 5946; *Cal. Close Rolls, 1318-24*, pp. 80, 90. De Clare was killed in May, 1318, but the petition seems to belong to the first half of 1319.

³⁴ By the time we have clear evidence the obligation had been very generally commuted for an annual payment known as 'wardsilver', but the system was clearly still in working order in South Wales in the second half of the twelfth century. See *Cymrodorion Record Series*, no. 7, vol. 3, *passim*; *Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, ed. G. T. Clark (6 vols., Cardiff, 1910), II, pp. 650-1; *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium* ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commissioners, 1835), p. 79; *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1870, pp. i, iii.

³⁵ *Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr, Dublin*, ed. J. T. Gilbert (Rolls Series, 1889), pp. 9, 43, 44.

³⁶ Armagh Public Library, MS. G. II. 13, f. 9.

charter of Henry II which granted Hugh de Lacy *omnia feoda que prebuit vel que prebebit circa Duueliniam dum ballivus meus est, ad faciendum mihi servitium apud civitatem meam Duuelinie*.³⁷ Some at least of these tenancies were created in the first instance by de Lacy, his charters specifying service at the city of Dublin, though this was not always mentioned in the royal charters which subsequently replaced de Lacy's. One of these tenancies (we know of ten, and no doubt some of the other tenants in chief of the county fell into the same group) was, however, deliberately created in 1207 in place of an existing fee-farm tenure.³⁸ In the 1280s a violent dispute broke out as to their position, two successive treasurers, Stephen de Fulburne, bishop of Waterford, and Nicholas de Clere, claiming that these tenants should pay scutage 'according to the custom of England', while the tenants maintained that they and their ancestors had always done their service in person with horses and arms at the gate of the castle of Dublin. An undated exchequer memorandum states that eight of them were making this claim, though the pipe roll of xxij Henry III (1239) showed that they had paid scutage in that year; in 1286 Nicholas de Howth alleged that he and his ancestors had done their service in person at the gate of the castle of Dublin; about the same date Hugh Tyrel was making the same claim for his barony of Castleknock in an angry petition to the king; and in 1290 Theobald le Botiller complained that though he held Bray in chief by the service of finding an armoured horse at the gate of the castle of Dublin, and he and his predecessors had always performed the service in person, the justiciar had now arbitrarily converted it into a demand for money.³⁹ It seems very doubtful that these claims were in fact justified: in spite of their charters, and in spite of the verdict of a jury in the case of Castleknock that *predictus Hugo fecisset servitium predictum in toto tempore suo secundum tenorem cartarum predictarum cum equis et armis ad castrum Dublinie in tam debito sicut omnes antecessores sui a tempore primi feoffamenti sui fecerunt et facere consueverunt*,⁴⁰ the exchequer officials had no difficulty in showing from the pipe rolls that they had either served in person in the army or paid

³⁷ *Gormanston Register*, p. 177. I hope to discuss the problems involved in this charter at greater length elsewhere.

³⁸ *Cal. Rot. Pat. et Claus.*, p. 4; *C.D.I.*, I, nos. 345, 346; III, p. 315; *Pembroke Deeds*, no. 4; *E.H.R.*, XVIII, p. 508; *Book of Howth*, p. 227; P.R.O. London, Ancient Petition no. 12880; C47/10/15, no. 5; Armagh Public Library MS. H. II. 16, f. 102. The tenancies involved were Coillacht (1 service), Bray (2 services), Rathdown (1½ service), Dundrum (1 service), Donnybrook (½ service), Castleknock (3 services), the Ward (½ service), Kilsallaghan (½ service), Howth (1 service), and an unidentified half fee in the honor of Lusk. It should be noted that the grants of Bray and Donnybrook were made not by de Lacy, but by Strongbow, acting on behalf of the king. The charters of Castleknock (C47/10/15 no. 3) and Hugh Tyrel's petition (Ancient Petition no. 12880) were printed with a commentary by E. St. J. Brooks, *ante*, this *Journal*, LXIII (1933) pp. 206-20.

³⁹ *E.H.R.*, XVIII, p. 508; *Book of Howth*, p. 227; P.R.O. London, Ancient Petition no. 12880; *C.D.I.*, III, p. 315.

⁴⁰ P.R.O. London, Ancient Petition no. 12880.

scutage on a number of occasions during the century, and after this date they were absorbed without further protest into the general scutage-paying community.⁴¹ It seems likely that the whole incident was connected with a general policy of enquiring into and enforcing royal rights which seem to have been embarked on in the 1280s,⁴² which would naturally provoke a reaction from the tenants concerned, and we may observe that at the same period Theobald de Verdun was complaining that though his charter only required the service of 20 knights for his land of Dundalk, the treasurer was exacting the service of 22½. The pipe rolls showed, however, that the service of 22½ knights had been continuously exacted from Dundalk since 1238, when scutage was first entered on them.⁴³

The other incidents of feudal tenure in Ireland show no features of particular interest. The obligatory aids were the same in Ireland as in England, reliefs were on the same scale, and distraint of knighthood appears under Edward III.⁴⁴ The rights of wardship and marriage were also the same, but in the liberties of Leinster and Meath the king abandoned his right of prerogative wardship—the right to the custody during a minority of all the lands of a tenant in chief, no matter of whom they were held—in favour of the lord.⁴⁵ Thus the lords of these liberties had the wardship of all the lands held of them within their liberties, even though many of their tenants also held in chief of the king elsewhere. It is not clear whether or not the lords of Leinster and Meath themselves enjoyed the right of prerogative wardship within the liberty, as the bishop of Durham did in Durham:⁴⁶ Edmund Mortimer asserted it in Meath in the later fourteenth century, but a jury alleged that it was then an innovation.⁴⁷

The chief remaining point of interest is that of the size of the knight's fee. At the time of the Norman conquest of England and for some two generations after that, it is clear that Norman feudalism had as yet evolved no conception of a standard knight's fee: charters define a knight's service, but not his fee, which might be composed of separate parcels of land, lying many miles apart. But by the middle of the twelfth century we begin to get charters which suggest that the conception of a knight's

⁴¹*E.H.R.*, XVIII, p. 508; P.R.O. London, C47/10/15, no. 5. In the pipe roll of 30 Edward I (1302) Hugh Tyrel's son accounted for £50 arrears of service for Castleknock before Michaelmas term 1286 (38th Rep. D.K., p. 60).

⁴²See below, p. 11.

⁴³P.R.O. London, C47/10/15, no. 3.

⁴⁴47th Rep. D.K., p. 28; 54th Rep. D.K., p. 53; *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1345-6*, p. 547; *Cal. Close Rolls, 1346-9*, p. 565.

⁴⁵*Rot[uli] Chart[orum]*, ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commissioners, 1837), p. 178; *C.D.I.*, II, nos. 195, 264, 740. This was also the position in the palatinate of Durham, the lands of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the marcher lordships of Wales (*Statutes of the Realm*, I, p. 22).

⁴⁶*Registrum Palatinum Dunelmensis*, ed. T. D. Hardy (4 vols., Rolls Series, 1873-8), III, p. 62.

⁴⁷*Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, ed. E. Curtis (6 vols., Irish MSS. Commission, 1932-43), III, pp. 350-5.

fee of definite size or value is already developing, and it must have been this conception—or rather, conceptions, for there was never a single standard but rather standards, which varied widely as between one feudal honour and another—that the Normans brought with them to Ireland.⁴⁸ Certainly the language of many of the early grants can only mean that in the mind of the king or his officials a knight's fee was equated with a definite area of land. There is, for instance, a grant of 1199 to Lambekin fitz William of named lands in the cantred of Huhene as a fee of five knights: if the lands contain less than five knights' fees, the king will supply the deficiency; if more, the surplus shall remain to the king.⁴⁹ Earlier, earl Richard (Strongbow), acting for the king, had granted to Alfred Gulafre a carucate of land in Dochlon (near Rathland, co. Dublin) to hold *per liberum servicium militis quod pertinet une carucate terre Dublin' faciendum*, language which clearly implies that the number of ploughlands appropriate to a knight's fee in co. Dublin was fixed and known.⁵⁰ Walter de Ridelesford was granted ten ploughlands for the fee of one knight at about the same date,⁵¹ and the grant of Rathfarnham and neighbouring lands to Milo le Bret to hold by the service of one and a fifth knight's fees no doubt reflects a calculation of the same kind.⁵² Calculations of value are rare, but at the end of the twelfth century Coillacht was granted to the archbishop of Dublin as 20 librates of land for the service of one knight, and under Edward I John Walhope got five ploughlands for 30 librates of land to hold by the service of one knight.⁵³ Similar calculations may lie behind the grant to Adam de Hereford of four ploughlands in Aderrig and its neighbourhood to hold by the service of half a fee,⁵⁴ which was rather smaller than seems to have been usual in this neighbourhood, and that to Dermot Mac Gilmeholmoc of fifteen ploughlands held by his father in Rathdown to hold by the service of one knight and two otterskins yearly, which was certainly unusually large.⁵⁵ But while a knight's fee of ten ploughlands seem to have been a fair average in co. Dublin, in Castleknock, the largest lay holding in the county, the Tyrels held sixty ploughlands of

⁴⁸ For this whole subject, see Stenton, *English Feudalism*, pp. 151-68.

⁴⁹ *C.D.I.*, I, no. 96.

⁵⁰ *Crede Mihi*, pp. 47-8.

⁵¹ *Cal. Rot. Pat. et Claus.*, p. 4. It should be noted that it is impossible to establish any exact equivalent to this in terms of acreage: the ploughland is generally thought to have contained about 120 acres of arable land, but an indefinite amount of waste or uncultivated land might be included, and the Irish acre was certainly larger than the statute acre—Mills thought that in co. Dublin it was equivalent to about 2½ statute acres (*ante*, this *Journal*, XIX (1889) pp. 35-6).

⁵² *C.D.I.*, I, no. 100.

⁵³ *Crede Mihi*, pp. 33-4; *C.D.I.*, IV, no. 228. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 108: a grant of 30 librates in Connaught to be held by the service of ½ knight's fee.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, no. 341. The four ploughlands of the manor of Gormanstown which lay in co. Dublin were also counted as half a fee (*Cal. Inq. P.M.*, V, no. 272).

⁵⁵ *C.D.I.*, I, no. 356. By the end of the thirteenth century this service had been changed to one knight and a foot serjeant, *i.e.* 1½ fees (British Museum MS. Royal 18 C. XIV, f. 159).

the crown by the service of three knights.⁵⁶ This exceptionally large area must be related to the position in Meath, for the original grant of Castleknock was made by Hugh de Lacy, and there is clear evidence that in the subinfeudation of Meath twenty ploughlands, as in Castleknock, were considered to be the equivalent of a knight's fee in the land of peace, while the figure rose to thirty ploughlands in the marches.⁵⁷ There are indications of the same structure in co. Waterford,⁵⁸ and in the original subinfeudation of co. Louth a thirty ploughland fee seems also to have been usual in the marches, at any rate in the neighbourhood of Ardee.⁵⁹

Elsewhere the evidence is nothing like so clear cut. The large blocks of service imposed by Henry II on Leinster and Meath did not, of course, depend on any close calculations of area or value, and John's grant of Ulster to Hugh de Lacy speaks simply of a knight for every cantred.⁶⁰ As for subinfeudation, apart from the twenty and thirty ploughland fees of Meath and, possibly, Louth, we find fees of from ten to twenty ploughlands in Wexford.⁶¹ In Kilkenny ten seems to have been the average,⁶² and there is some evidence for a ten ploughland fee in Tipperary in the Butler manor of Thurles.⁶³ But in many parts of the country the evidence is greatly confused by the common practice of imposing on sub-tenants scutage liabilities considerably lower than the standard rate.⁶⁴

That a record should be kept of the services due to the king was obviously desirable. In 1281 a memorandum highly critical of the conduct of the Irish treasurer says that 'all services, as scutage in England, ought to be entered for remembrance on the king's rolls, lest service should be withdrawn from the king, the more especially as the book called Domesday, touching those services and other rights of the king, has been burned'⁶⁵—the earliest entry in the long and depressing history of the destruction of our public records. We are not told whether anything was done to follow this up,⁶⁶ but there are several surviving attempts to set forth the full

⁵⁶*Cal. Justic. Rolls, 1295-1303*, p. 246.

⁵⁷*Gormanston Register*, pp. 10-13; *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, ed. G. H. Orpen (Oxford, 1892), p. 310; *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, VII, no. 67. But cf. *ibid.*, V, no. 272. Balrothery was probably in the same position as Castleknock.

⁵⁸*Cal. Rot. Pat. et Claus.*, pp. 58, 67.

⁵⁹*Cal. Inq. P.M.*, V, no. 583.

⁶⁰*Rot. Chart.*, p. 151; *C.D.I.*, I, no. 263. The grant of Ulster to Walter de Burgo in 1263 reduced this to a total service of 3 knights (British Museum MS. Add. 6041, f. 100d).

⁶¹*C.D.I.*, V, nos. 306, 764.

⁶²*Red Book of Ormond*, *passim*.

⁶³*Ibid.*, pp. 53, 71-3.

⁶⁴See above, p. 6.

⁶⁵*C.D.I.*, II, no. 1879.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, no. 2329 (c. 1284), though it lists the rents due to the king in detail, gives only the total number of services due from each county without saying by whom or for what lands they were due. It seems, however, that the 1280s were a period of general inquiry into and enforcement of the rights of the king, and it is probably significant that both the treasurers of this period aroused widespread hostility. See above, p. 8.

list of the royal service of Ireland, of which the earliest must be assigned to the end of the thirteenth century. This survives in three separate but very closely related texts, which seem to go back to a common original: a MS. of c. 1345, preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge;⁶⁷ a very corrupt text preserved among the Carew MSS. at Lambeth;⁶⁸ and another very badly written and corrupt sixteenth century transcript, made by someone who did not know the places concerned, which is preserved in the British Museum.⁶⁹ The original was not earlier than 1298, since it includes the service of one tenth of a knight's fee for Thorncastle from William le Deveneys which was created in that year;⁷⁰ on the other hand it is probably not much later, since it notes that Ballygodman used to owe one service, but is now quit by the lord's charter. Ballygodman had been granted to the nuns of Lismullen by Richard de la Cornere, bishop of Meath, c. 1250, and the lord's charter, which is otherwise unrecorded, must have been a charter of Edward I while lord of Ireland during his father's lifetime.⁷¹

The second list is considerably later: it is contained in a volume of collections as to the king's revenue in Ireland made by a royal official at the end of the fifteenth century.⁷² It is clear and well written, and the place-names are given in their normal form: it was no doubt made in the exchequer at Dublin, and though the sources are not given—they were almost certainly the lists of sums due for scutage in the pipe rolls—some of them were clearly of considerable antiquity, since Walter de Burgo (who died in 1271) is said to owe twenty services for Connaught, and Richard de Burgo (who died in 1326) three for Ulster. But there is a list of fees in co. Wexford which appears to be about a generation later than the list assigned by Dr. Brooks to 1425,⁷³ and was probably compiled for the purposes of a scutage taken while the liberty was in the king's hand.

The third of the lists though the latest is in many ways the most interesting. It is a *Liber repertorium omnium inquisitionum et aliarum rerum in officio capitalis rememoratoris scaccarie Hibernie factus per Walterum Harold deputatus rememoratoris ejusdem scaccarie*, and is headed 1557, though in fact some of the entries go up to the twentieth year of Elizabeth.⁷⁴ It seems to have been intended as a record of royal rights, and it includes a long section on royal services, taken for the most part from the pipe rolls. First, however, comes a *rotulus regalis*

⁶⁷ Corpus Christi MS. 37, edited by M. Bateson, 'Irish Exchequer Memoranda of the Reign of Edward I', *E.H.R.*, XVIII, pp. 497-513.

⁶⁸ *Book of Howth*, pp. 230-4. Both this and the Corpus Christi MS. add lists of rents due to the king and some exchequer memoranda, the Corpus Christi version being the more complete of the two.

⁶⁹ MS. Titus B XI, ff. 246d-247d. This list is incomplete omitting Meath, Tipperary and Limerick.

⁷⁰ *C.D.I.*, V, no. 422.

⁷¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1367-1370*, p. 124.

⁷² British Museum MS. Royal 18 C XIV, ff. 159-165.

⁷³ E. St. J. Brooks, *Knights Fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*, (Irish MSS. Commission, 1950).

⁷⁴ Trinity College, Dublin, MS. E. 3. 4.

servicii Comitis Marchie tempore Leonelli comitis Ultonie et Johanne uxoris sue, the source of which is not stated, but which must, I think, have been taken from the inquisitions post mortem taken after the death of Edmund Mortimer, whose son later married Lionel's daughter and heiress, in 1360. The Irish part of these inquisitions has not survived except insofar as this may be an extract from them, but it should be observed that there is no other indication in the MS. that in 1557 there remained in the Irish exchequer any inquisition earlier than the twentieth year of Richard II.

This is followed by the royal service of Dublin, taken from a pipe roll of the reign of Henry VII, that of Louth from a pipe roll of Edward IV, that of Meath from the pipe roll of 10 Henry VI, that of Kildare from the pipe roll of 13 Henry VI,⁷⁵ that of Tipperary from the pipe roll of 13 Henry IV, that of Wexford from a pipe roll of the reign of Henry V, and finally a detailed list of the royal service due to the lords of the manor of Castleknock in the early sixteenth century. While not as complete, in some respects, as the earlier lists, it gives us fuller information as to the subinfeudation of certain of the liberties than is available from any other source. But, interesting as these lists are, their detailed consideration must be left for another occasion.

It is clear that Norman feudalism, which was introduced into Ireland at the point of time when its English variant had, after a century of development, assumed its classical form, underwent no significant changes in Ireland. Though it is, I think, certain that under Henry II, and even under Henry III, it was still contemplated that it would make an important contribution to every military expedition, its contribution became almost entirely financial long before the end of the thirteenth century. The whole organization thus became largely static, steadily declining in even its financial importance as new methods of taxation were applied.

In conclusion, we may profitably compare Irish feudalism with that of certain other European countries. It was, as we have seen, purely an offshoot of English feudalism, which was itself derived from Normandy. We can thus best compare it with that of other areas of Norman feudalism, which, apart from England, spread to southern Italy, and thence to the principality of Antioch.⁷⁶ There are thus, outside Normandy, two main lines of development: England, Wales and Ireland⁷⁷ on the one hand, and south Italy and Antioch on the other. But it is remarkable that, in certain important respects, the feudalism of the marches of Wales resembles that of southern Italy, not that of England, from which it was

⁷⁵ This is almost, though not quite, identical with that printed by H. F. Hore from the British Museum Harleian MS. 3756 in this *Journal*, VIII (1866), pp. 529-46, and both are certainly based on the inquisition post mortem of the second Earl of Kildare, made in January 1329, which is preserved in the Red Book of Kildare.

⁷⁶ C. Cahen, *Le Regime Feodal de l'Italie Normande* (Paris, 1940).

⁷⁷ Scotland should really be included in the series, since the development of Scottish feudalism was largely influenced by England.

immediately derived, while that of Ireland, in spite of the fact that a high proportion of the first conquerors were themselves Welsh marchers, was entirely English in pattern. There are two sets of circumstances which seem to explain this: in the first place, the Norman conquerors of South Wales at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth were only one generation removed from the parent stock in Normandy and thus far nearer not only in time, but also in tradition and outlook to the men who had set up their petty states in Italy in the middle of the eleventh century than were the Anglo-Norman conquerors of Ireland in the second half of the twelfth century. In the second place, though Ireland was not, as England had been, conquered entirely by the initiative and under the direction of the king, nevertheless Henry II intervened at an early stage to make certain that his sovereign power and position should be effectively recognised and respected. In South Wales and in Italy apart from Sicily, on the other hand, the conquest was carried out by a number of petty leaders acting independently. It is true that the Welsh marchers always recognised the overlordship of the king of England, but in practice they were the almost independent rulers of petty principalities:⁷⁸ in southern Italy the monarchy did not appear till after the initial conquests had taken place, and its authority was imposed on all the feudatories only gradually, and not without considerable difficulties.

The really striking parallel between the marcher lordships of south Wales and the Norman state in south Italy is in the matter of the personality of feudal law. In Norman England law was from the first territorial, and by the reign of Henry II the common law, the practice of the king's court, was already rapidly beginning to obliterate the old variety of provincial custom. Though much Anglo-Saxon law was incorporated in this developing body of law and custom, it did not affect the law relating to military tenures, which were governed entirely by the ordinary rules of feudal law, even if, exceptionally, they were held by men of Anglo-Saxon descent. This principle was followed also in Ireland. The majority of the native Irish population were, indeed, excluded from the benefits of English law,⁷⁹ but if an Irishman held a knight's fee, as some did,⁸⁰ he held it by exactly the same rules of law as any Norman. But in both the Welsh marches and southern Italy we find a different principle adopted. In the Welsh marches we find side by side with normal military tenancies Welsh fees, which descended according to the rules of Welsh customary law, which divided an inheritance among all the male heirs, taking no account of whether they were legitimate or not, and which

⁷⁸ See J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The constitutional position of the great lordships of south Wales', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Series 5, vol. VIII, pp. 1-20.

⁷⁹ See J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The native Irish and English law in medieval Ireland', *I.H.S.*, VII, pp. 1-16.

⁸⁰ See e.g. *C.D.I.*, I, no. 356. Cf. *Red Book of Ormond*, p. 20 and *passim*, which shows a number of Irishmen holding fee-farm tenancies.

gave the lord no right of either wardship or marriage.⁸¹ The fragmentation in which this resulted (in 1325 eleven such fees in Pembrokeshire were said to be in the hands of 'innumerable tenants')⁸² must have made it impossible to ensure the performance of any services, and clearly the lord had very little control over them. In just the same way, we find in southern Italy that certain tenants held by Lombard law, which divided an inheritance among all the heirs, male and female, but regarded a woman as always juridically a minor, while others held by 'Frankish' law—this is, by the ordinary rules of Norman feudalism as they developed in this area.⁸³ Nothing of the kind was, however, possible in Ireland, for the guiding principle, constantly reiterated, was that the law of Ireland was, and ought to be, the same as that of England.⁸⁴ In north-east Ulster a number of Irish rulers, who retained a semi-independent position outside the framework of Norman administration, and whose territories were clearly areas of Irish law, did indeed nominally hold of the earl by the service of providing 'satellites'⁸⁵ for his wars, but this service was completely outside any feudal category.⁸⁶

Irish feudalism must be classed, then, simply as an almost unmodified extension of that branch of Norman feudalism which was established in England: in this, as in other respects, the comparison with the Welsh marches which the identity of the conquerors of Ireland inevitably suggests proves to have very little relevance. The development of the power of the monarchy and of the common law under Henry II was apparently an impassable barrier preventing any eccentric development.

⁸¹ *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, 7, vol. 3, p. 97; 'Baronia de Kemeys', supplement to *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1862, pp. 72-4.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Cahen, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-9, 82-9. In both Italy and Wales the juridical status of the fee did not necessarily correspond to the racial origins of the tenant.

⁸⁴ *Early Statutes of Ireland*, ed. H. F. Berry (Dublin, 1907), pp. 20, 21, 23-4, 30, 31-2, 33, 35; *C.D.I.*, I, nos. 1430, 1458, 1481, 1679; III, no. 318. See Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1923), I, p. 221; Maitland, *Collected Papers*, II, 81-3; H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, 'The Early Statutes', *Law Quarterly Review*, L, p. 548. See above p. 2. n. 4.

⁸⁵ Identified as kern in 1329—*satellites domini Johannis de Bermyngham comitis Loueth qui vocantur ketherne* (P.R.O. London, C 47/10/19, no. 18).

⁸⁶ See E. Curtis, 'The Bonnaght of Ulster', *Hermathena*, XXI, pp. 87-105.

PREHISTORIC BURIAL AT RATH, CO. WICKLOW

By Ellen Prendergast, Member

THE discovery of a prehistoric burial was made by Mr. John Tallon and Mr. John Carty of Killinure, Tullow, Co. Carlow, while removing sand from a newly-opened sandpit on 1st June, 1944. It was reported by Mr. Tallon, the landowner, to the National Museum authorities and investigated by the writer two days later.

The sandpit in which the discovery was made is one of a series which forms part of the South Irish End-Moraine and occurs about 300 ft. O.D., in the townland of Rath, Co. Wicklow.¹ At the find-spot the deposit of sand forms a circular mound about 60 m. in diameter and about 5 m. above the level of the surrounding field which was under meadow and had not been tilled for at least six years. As far as Mr. Tallon knew the sandpit had never been worked before and there had been no surface indication of a grave there; it was only when he and Mr. Carty made the discovery that they recalled the local tradition that the "Old Pagan's Grave" was in this field or the adjoining one. How or when this tradition arose is now forgotten.

Mr. Tallon and Mr. Carty gave a detailed account of the discovery. During the course of sand digging at the centre of the mound they came upon some large stones on the face of the sandpit about 3 ft. below the surface. As these became more fully exposed, they were seen to resemble "a stone coffin with cover stones," extending in an East-West direction. Owing to the looseness of the sand the heavy slabs soon began to fall out of position but the formation of the structure had been carefully observed. The reconstruction is based on the discoverer's account and, I think, is reliable (Figure 1). When the stone at the East end slipped out of place a small complete pottery bowl was seen standing upright on the sandy bottom of the 'coffin' in one corner. This was rescued almost intact. It contained some dark ashy material. This was emptied out and in it was found a small, very hard bone resembling "a finger-bone". The hardness of the bone was stressed by the finders and suggests that it had been burnt but unfortunately, it had been lost in the sand. No other bones or traces of charcoal were noticed; apart from the bowl, the compartment was empty. This part of the tomb was formed of slabs placed on edge, two at each side and a single one at the ends and was covered with three flat slabs lying side by side; a few smaller stones supported the sidestones on the outside. There was no slab or paving on the floor of the 'coffin'. It was approximately 90 cm. long by 50 cm. wide and 30 cm. deep and the

¹ Parish Ardoyne, barony Shillelagh, Co. Wicklow, O.S. 6" sheet 42, 34 cm. East, 2 cm. South.

average measurements of the slabs, which were scattered down the sand-pit, were 40 x 35 x 15 cm. Only the western end stone was still in position when I visited the site.

Our examination indicated that a further compartment was still intact behind this stone. To uncover it an excavation was carried out for a distance of 1.50 m. back from the pit-face and a small square cist was

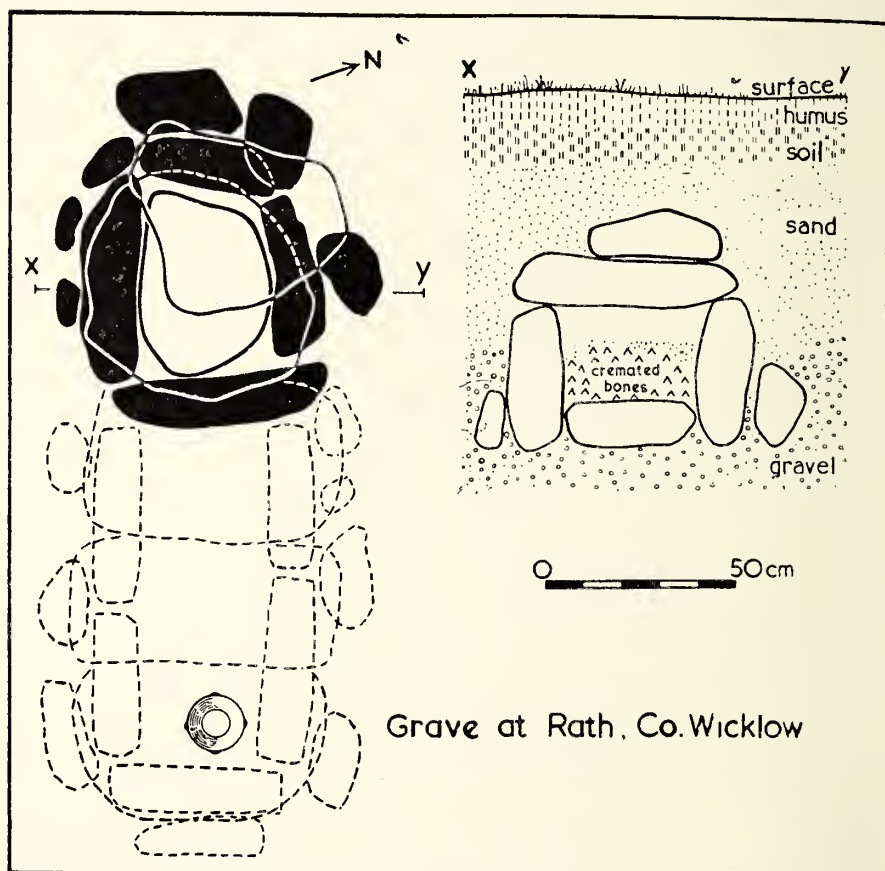


Fig. 1. The dotted lines show the portion based on finders' description

disclosed (Figure 1). It was formed of four upright slabs, that on the East side having formed the partition between it and the destroyed compartment, the two chambers having lain in the same straight line. It was sealed by two overlapping capstones and buttressed around outside by irregular stones. Internally the average measurements were 50 cm. long

by 35 cm. wide by 25 cm. deep, the slabs averaging 15 cm. in thickness. A single flat slab was neatly fitted to form the floor and on it were piled cremated bones on top of which a thin layer of fine sand had infiltrated. The entire structure was removed but no other burnt material or artefacts were found. All the component stones of the two compartments were of local granite. The stratification from the surface was almost uniformly 10 cm. humus, 12 cm. dark loose soil, 45 cm. fine sand resting on gravel beneath. The grave was bedded into this gravel.

Protruding from the pit face about 10 m. to the south of the excavated grave and at the same depth below the surface in a similar stratification, a haphazard pile of large stones was noticed. A crushed vessel, which seemed to have been placed mouth upwards, lay beneath them. As the pit face was then crumbling down the potsherds were hastily rescued. It was not possible to recognise any structural plan in the overlying stones but they appeared to be a collapsed stone-grave of small size. The stones, all of granite, were by no means as regular as those used in the excavated grave. No trace of bone or charcoal was found.

The cremated bones were kindly examined by Dr. F. P. Lisowski, University of Birmingham, whose full report is appended below. They were the remains of one person, a young man aged 20 to 23 years; the squatting facets on the heel bones is a feature which is frequently noticed on prehistoric skeletons.

The Pottery^a

The slightly damaged vessel from the first chamber discovered was later repaired in the National Museum (Reg. No. 1944: 246) (Figure 2). It is bowl-shaped with incurving neck and rounded bottom and the whole exterior surface is decorated. Spaced evenly around the line of its greatest circumference were four lugs, three of which remain. The ware is of fine texture with small sandy grits containing a high proportion of quartz; it is buff-coloured throughout with darker areas on the external burnished surface. The rim is plain, rounded and slightly thickened on the inside. The walls increase in thickness towards the base. The lugs are formed of small loops of clay applied to the vessel before ornamentation, and each has a small horizontal perforation.

Only one motif is used in the ornamentation, it is a whipped-cord or cog-wheel indentation with fine toothing. This is arranged in horizontal lines around the body. The spaces between the lines gradually increase in width from rim to base though the individual bands are not always of uniform width. The cog-wheel ornament is interrupted by the lugs and there is a short double line at either side of each one; the lugs themselves have horizontal lines of the same ornament. There is a

^aMr. John Tallon generously presented the two vessels to the National Museum.

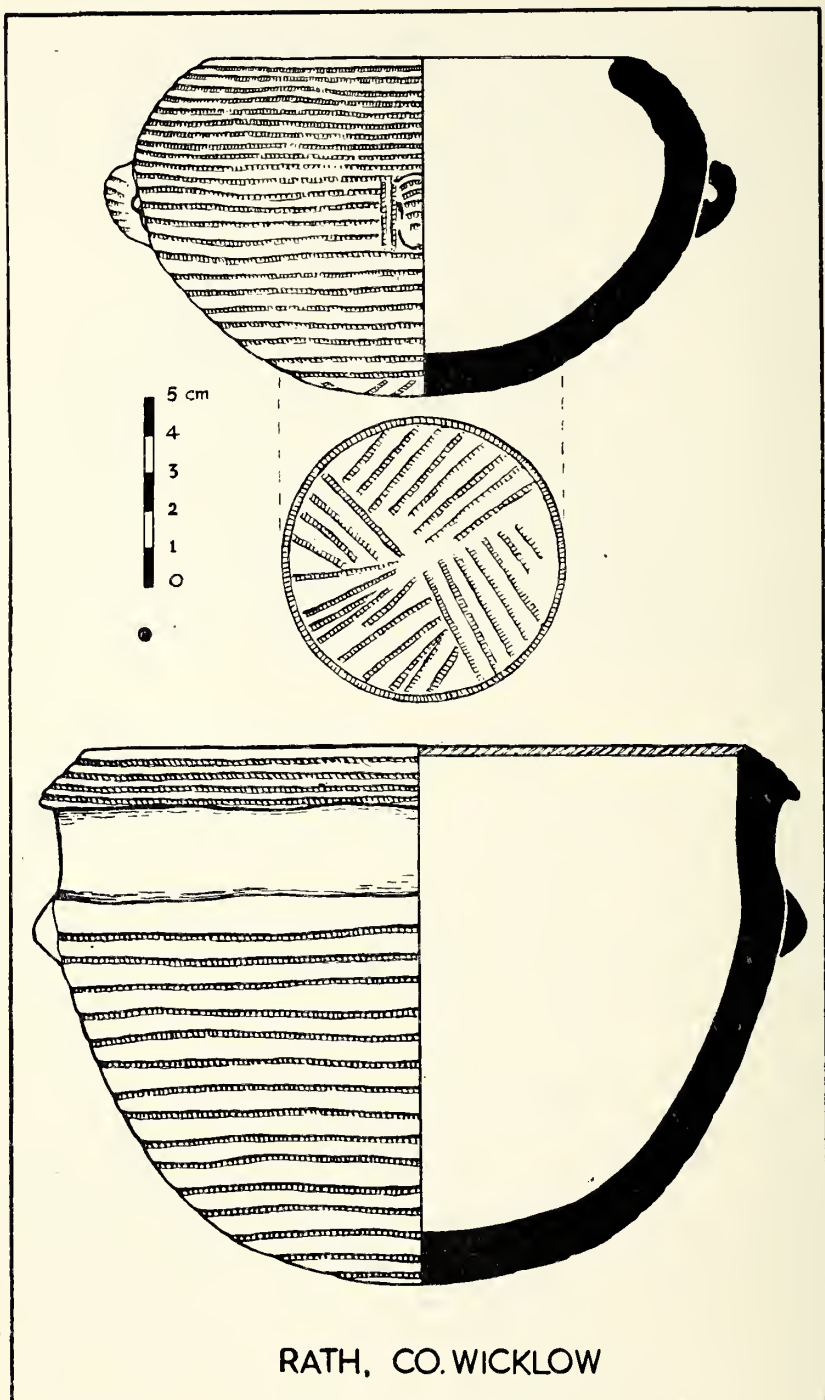


Fig. 2. Pottery Vessels

cruciform pattern on the bottom. The vessel is 9.0 cm. high, the greatest diameter of the body is 14.5 cm. and the internal diameter of the mouth is 10.0 cm.

The second vessel which was found in sherds was reconstructed in the Museum (Reg. No. 1944: 247) (Fig. 2). It is round-bottomed, with thick rim sloping outward, restricted neck and very slight shoulder, below which are two small projections, apparently applied, diametrically opposite each other. The ware is likewise hard and fine-textured with sandy grits, buff-coloured with dark burnished surface externally. The inside of the rim has a narrow bevel covered with a row of short parallel incisions. Otherwise the ornament consists of whipped-cord or cog-wheeling, sometimes rather deeply impressed and giving a shallow grooved effect. The outer slope of the rim bears four rows executed in this technique and a series of similar rows covers the body below the projections. The neck and shoulder are plain. There is a slight internal bulge behind the neck restriction; the outside of the rim has a raw under-edge but there is no indication that this portion was added separately in the making of the pot. The average thickness of the walls and the base is 1.25 cm.; the height is 14.0 cm. and the internal diameter of the mouth is 17 cm.

Because of the resemblance in shape and the similarity of the ware and the ornament, it is probable that both of these vessels are contemporary and, indeed, may have been made by the same potter. The whipped-cord or cog-wheel impressions in both instances are closely similar though fainter and less deeply impressed on the smaller vessel. How this ornament was executed is open to speculation—an actual 'cog-wheel' is unlikely to have been employed. The impressed lines without break or obvious overlap, would be difficult to achieve with a straight comb or stamp. The use of a tightly whipped cord as distinct from a twisted cord seems to be the easiest method and extreme care must have been exercised to avoid a blundered joint. Only in one instance, on the larger pot, could a loose end be detected. There is no evidence in the structure of the pots as to their method of construction; it was probably by hollowing out the mass of clay rather than by the coil technique since no horizontal joints could be detected in the broken fabric.

Discussion

The Pottery.

The general character of the Rath pottery suggests that it belongs to the Neolithic tradition, possibly with later influences. It is in the Irish series that its elements may be more easily recognised as the late Professor Ó Ríordáin has indicated.³ In an attempt to define its relationships an

³PPS, 12(1946), 149, 158, pl. XI.

analysis of its components in respect of ware, shape and ornament is necessary. *Ware*: The hard close texture and the faintly burnished surface of the Rath pottery are comparable to Neolithic wares though much less fine than the best of them. Indeed, some of the finer Foodvessel wares are quite close to it. The micaceous grits suggest local manufacture as was noticed about the Neolithic sherds from Norrismount, Co. Wexford.⁴

Shape: The round bottom in both cases is a Neolithic characteristic. The outline of the larger one bears a superficial likeness to the reconstructed Linkardstown pot⁵ and points to the Western Class IA ware as found at Lough Gur⁶ and in the so-called Sandhill varieties.⁷ The suggestion of shoulder recalls the typical Irish form G of Piggott's classification.⁸ The rim shape can be matched most nearly on the Sandhill pots,⁹ on pot M from the Court Cairn at Ballyreagh, Co. Fermanagh¹⁰ and on a small cup from a habitation site at Lough Gur¹¹ but, on the other hand, it is not far removed from vessels of Baltic ancestry such as that from Mortlake. The small rounded lugs may be best paralleled on Western Neolithic decorated Becharra vessels,¹² and the lugs on the Drimnagh bowl which is regarded as of Chalcolithic date are elongated.¹³

In shape this smaller Rath pot recalls the small decorated Becharra bowls with incurved necks which are so closely associated with Northern Court Cairns,¹⁴ and the related Scottish tombs. A remarkably similar vessel has been found, more recently, at Caherguillamore, Co. Limerick, where it is associated with Neolithic and Beaker wares and bone pins of Passage Grave type.¹⁵ The smaller Rath pot has also a strong resemblance to the outline of the bowl Foodvessels, especially those with a continuous

⁴ A. T. Lucas: *JRSAI*, 80(1950), 156.

⁵ J. Raftery: *JRSAI*, 74(1944), 61-2. S. P. Ó Ríordáin: *PPS*, 12(1946), 149. S. Piggott: *Neol. Cultures*, 274.

⁶ S. P. Ó Ríordáin: *PRIA*, 56C(1954), 297 ff.

⁷ Rev. L. M. Hewson: *JRSAI*, 68(1938), especially Dundrum vessels, pp. 73-87.

⁸ S. Piggott: *Arch. Jour.*, 88(1931), 75.

⁹ Hewson, *op. cit.*, Dundrum, Pot 3, fig. 7, p. 76 (the angle of the section as illustrated there should incline more inward); Pot 1, fig. 5, p. 74 and a similar rim from Newcastle which is not illustrated but is registered in the National Museum 1934: 6612.

¹⁰ O. Davies: *UJA*, 5(1942), 87, fig. 5.

¹¹ S. P. Ó Ríordáin: *PRIA*, 56C(1954), 332, fig. 15 (5).

¹² e.g., E. E. Evans: *Lyles Hill*, Archaeol. Research Public. (N.I.), No. 2, (1953), p. 38, fig. 14; p. 40, fig. 15. Evans & Davies: *PBNHPS*, 1933-4(1935), pl. IV (2) (Ballyalton).

¹³ H. E. Kilbride-Jones: *JRSAI*, 69(1939), 190 ff.

¹⁴ e.g., Mullin & Davies: *UJA*, 1(1938), 105, Pot D (Carrick East). I. Herring: *JRSAI*, 71(1941), 43, Pot i, fig. 2 (Tamnyrankin). O. Davies: *JRSAI*, 69(1939), 34, fig. 4 (Aghanaglack); and compare *Lyles Hill*, pot 70, fig. 16, and Hewson: *JRSAI*, (1936), 169, fig. 17 (Murlough Bay).

¹⁵ Mr. J. Hunt kindly permits me to refer to this prior to his forthcoming publication.

curve.¹⁶ It may be mentioned that rounded bases are not altogether unknown among Foodvessels.¹⁷

The simple rim form of the smaller Rath vessel is usual on Neolithic bowls and Beakers.¹⁸ To return to the problem of the lugs, on this Rath vessel they differ from the type found on its companion in that they are vertically applied and horizontally perforated. Such perforated lugs may be found on pure Western forms¹⁹ though rarely in Ireland on Neolithic pottery. However, there are examples of perforated lugs on the Foodvessels.²⁰ Usually Foodvessels with lugs and stops show bowl-vase interaction.²¹ It would appear, then, that the form of the Rath vessels indicates affinity with Neolithic, more specifically Beacharra, types, on the one hand, and with bowl Foodvessels on the other.

Ornament: The motif and style is similar on both pots. Fine cording gives a similar effect on the Beacharra bowls from the Court Cairns of Northern Ireland and perhaps the closest parallels are provided at Tamnyrankin (Pots D, I and Pot A which Childe has described as a Proto-Foodvessel). The occurrence of cord or pseudo-cord ornament raises the question whether it is an indigenous element in Court Cairns and on the Sandhill pottery or an intrusive element, ultimately from the Baltic. At Lyles Hill this ornament is "sometimes so fine as to resemble the impressions left by the milled edge of a coin"²² and the same may be said of the Rath ornament. It occurs on Beaker ware, occasionally arranged horizontally as may be seen for instance on Irish examples.²³ But it is on Foodvessels that this ornament occurs most profusely. Particularly it

¹⁶ National Museum of Ireland, Register No. 1906: 202 (Illustrated in J. Abercromby: *Bronze Age Pottery*, I(1912), pl. XLVI, figs. 281, 281a and p. 121); and e.g., that from Mountfield, Co. Tyrone; here the ornament is almost exclusively of cording or comb impressions variously arranged and it has a decorated base, other points of similarity to Rath. It is said to have been associated with a lozenge-shaped stone arrowhead with a simulation of flint chipping on the surface and possibly of early date.

¹⁷ On one from Hartwell Upper, Co. Kildare, (National Museum, acquired 1939, unpublished) from a cist with cremation in a sandpit; cog-wheeling or combing, variously arranged, is the chief motif used in the ornamentation.

¹⁸ e.g., Lyles Hill, pots 56 and 70: Tamnyrankin, pot i: Dundrum, Co. Down, pot ii. (Hewson (1938), 83 fig. 18): Grange beaker (S. P. Ó Ríordáin: *PRIA*, 54C(1951), 56, fig. 5).

¹⁹ S. Piggott: *Arch. J.*, 88(1931), 77, fig. 2, and e.g. in M'Clelland & May; *UJA*, 5, (1942), 13, fig. I (1).

²⁰ See Mountstewart, Co. Down. Evans & Megaw: *PPS*, 3(1937), 40, footnote 5 and references there. The Multiple-cist Cairn context is to be noted with relation to the Rath burial.

²¹ S. P. Ó Ríordáin: *PPS*, 12(1946), 158: L. F. Chitty: *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies*, 9(1938), 275-283.

²² E. E. Evans: *Lyles Hill*, 42

²³ S. P. Ó Ríordáin: *PRIA*, 54C(1951), 71: *PRIA*, 56C(1954), 297, 394: S. P. Ó Ríordáin and G. F. Mitchell: *PRIA*, 48C(1942), fig. 5, a: S. P. Ó Ríordáin: *JCHAS*, 53(1948), 19 ff: H. O'N. Hencken: *JRSAL*, 65(1935), 209, fig. 9, a. The ornament, though not arranged horizontally is remarkably similar to that at Rath. See W. E. Griffiths: *PPS*, 23(1957), 50, fig. 7 (2, 3) for Welsh beakers, and M. C. Mitchell: *PSAS*, 68(1923-4), 163, fig. 1, for Scottish beakers.

seems to be the case on those from sites with Neolithic implications and from Multiple-cist Cairns.

The cruciform pattern on the base immediately suggests affinities with Foodvessel where such decoration is well represented. It occurs most frequently on the Irish bowl type especially on examples in apparently early contexts.²⁴ A similar pattern is found on the Drimnagh hanging bowl. Thus, the ornamentation can derive, in large measure, from the Becharra styles; Beaker influence is possible but the closest link is with Irish Foodvessels.

All things considered, it seems that the Rath pottery is an Irish development embodying mainly Western Neolithic characteristics and tending very definitely towards the Bronze Age Foodvessels; it may even be the result of fusion of these styles.²⁵

Siting and Grave Type.

Apart from the pottery, there are two salient features of the burials at Rath which may be considered in attempting to find the cultural and chronological context, namely, the nature of the siting and the structure of the grave.

Siting: Burial in a gravel deposit is characteristic of Bronze Age burials especially those containing Foodvessels. Such burials often occur in groups and this suggests for Rath affinities with the Multiple-cist Cairns²⁶ where the Foodvessel is again characteristic. It could be argued that the utilisation of the round natural deposit at Rath is, as it were, a substitute for the artificially erected cairn. Neolithic finds in cists of megalithic proportions under round mounds came from Linkardstown and Norrismount which seem to have some relationship with Rath. At Martinstown²⁷ sandpit an overlap of Neolithic and Foodvessel seems probable. *Grave Type:* The long grave with its two compartments may be a degeneration from megalithic structures and suggests comparisons with Wedge-shaped Galleries. In the Bronze Age there are graves which may have some relationship with the Rath structure. In the cemetery at Knockast, Co. Westmeath²⁸ there is a double grave in which was found fragments of what appears to have been a round-bottomed vessel, possibly

²⁴e.g., at Lyles Hill, 47, fig. 18, No. 88: Mountstewart, see footnote (18) above, pl. X. pot E: Ballybrew, Co. Wicklow; Martin, Price & Mitchell, *PRIA*, 43C(1936), pl. XXVIII, fig. 2.

²⁵The overlap of Western Neolithic, Beaker and Foodvessel pottery is exemplified in a Wedge tomb at Lough Gur (S. P. Ó Ríordáin and G. Ó h-Íceadha: *JRSAI*, 85(1955), 34-50.

²⁶These may be artificially erected cairns or the graves may be in esker mounds. For instance at Keenoge, Co. Meath. Excavated by Dr. A. Mahr, 1929, on behalf of the National Museum of Ireland. Unpublished. And Killicarney, Co. Cavan. W. R. F. Wakeman: *JRSAI*, 15(1879-82), 188-200.

²⁷P. J. Hartnett: *JRSAI*, 81(1951), 1 ff. The Foodvessels from this site were found later and are not published: the association is not conclusive.

²⁸H. O'N. Hencken and H. L. Movius: *PRIA*, 41C(1934), 242-3, graves 24 and 24a.

of Neolithic ancestry. Some Beaker graves may be relevant. For instance, the mound at Moytirra²⁹ covered two compartments, side-by-side if not conjoined, which produced bell-beakers and a sherd of Carrowkeel ware. And there were two double-cists in the Multiple-cist Cairn at Poulawack, Co. Clare,³⁰ in one of which was a Beaker sherd.

Foodvessel graves also include double structures. Bowl Foodvessels and jet beads were recovered from the Oldbridge site³¹ and from the 'porched' cist at Rathbennet.³² Other comparable double-cists occur, sometimes without datable gravegoods.

Conclusion:

Taking everything into account, then, it may be said that the Foodvessel affinities recognisable in the Rath pottery and even more clearly in the manner of burial, suggest a date when the Foodvessel cist-burials had been firmly established and while the Western Neolithic still persisted.³³

²⁹W. G. Wood-Martin: *The Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland* (1888), 182-5, fig. 145.

³⁰H. O'N. Hencken: *JRSAI*, 65(1935), 191 ff.: N. B. Graves 6 and 8 (Poulawack).

³¹G. Coffey: *PRIA*, 3, 3rd S.(1896), 747-752; J. Abercromby: *BAP*, 1(1912), 143.

³²R. A. S. Macalister and R. M. Murray: *PRIA*, 40C(1932), 308-311.

³³I would like to express my gratitude to Professor R. de Valera, University College, Dublin, for his useful criticism of this report while it was being prepared.

THE RATH CREMATION

By F. P. Lisowski, Department of Anatomy, The University of Birmingham

The present account relates to a study of the cremated remains from a pre-historic cist at Rath, Co. Wicklow. The investigation of this material follows that used on previous occasions by the author (1956, 1957, 1958), and is based on the careful analyses of Gejvall (1947, 1948). The aim in a study of this sort is to try, if possible, to determine the age, sex and number of individuals cremated.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Cremated remains. The human cremation comes from one site at Rath. It was in a fairly clean condition and there were no traces of charcoal.

Preparation of material. The remains were washed on a sieve of a 2 mm. mesh (Atkinson 1953) and then allowed to dry. Next the dust was sieved off and all foreign matter removed. This was followed by sorting out all the identifiable remains. The residue was grouped into fragments that belonged to unidentified long bones and miscellaneous unidentified bony remains. All the material was weighed and then examined in detail. Some of the fragments could be glued together, however, actual reconstructions were impossible.

Estimation of number, sex and age. The number of individuals cremated was established by the presence of certain skeletal parts, e.g. certain skull fragments, upper and lower ends of the femur and tibia.

A diagnosis of the sex is obviously only approximate and in this case was diagnosed from certain cranial elements.

The age could be assessed from the state of the spheno-occipital suture. The examination of the external and internal structure of the teeth (Gustafson 1950) was impossible owing to their poor condition.

RESULTS

General. Total weight 1833 gm. The fragments tend to be quite large, though the range is from 3 mm. to 114 mm. The colour varies from bluish grey to white, a few pieces are reddish brown. Distortions and cracks are very common. Quite a number of fragments fit together. The results of the analysis are set out in Tables 1 and 2.

Skull. The fragments vary in length from 5 mm. to 76 mm. One large piece, 76 mm. by 35 mm., is part of the glabellar region of the frontal bone. The glabella, superciliary ridges and orbital margins are well marked and show male characteristics. The frontal air sinuses, too, are well developed.

Fragments representing the right mastoid process and the region of the external occipital protuberance also show male features.

Part of the left side of the sphenoid retains the foramen rotundum and part of a uniting spheno-occipital suture, indicative of early adulthood. A fragment of the right side of the sphenoid is also present.

The fronto-nasal processes of the right and left maxilla show the edges of the nasal aperture, the nasolacrimal duct and part of the maxillary sinus.

Part of the left petrous portion of the temporal bone with its internal auditory meatus is present.

The right zygomatic bone; part of the left pterygoid process; maxillary fragments showing sockets for molar, premolar and incisor teeth; and part of the left external auditory meatus were also found.

Right and left upper parts of the mandibular rami, together with their processes, are also present. The right side shows part of the mandibular canal and an open socket for the third molar. One other piece belongs to the symphyseal region and has two well-marked genial tubercles.

Innumerable miscellaneous fragments of the vault are also present. Many have serrated sutural edges, but none show uniting or united sutures. In several pieces the outer or inner table had split off, leaving an exposed diploe.

Teeth. Roots of two canines, two upper molars and two lower molars, as well as three incisors and one premolar were found. All the root canals were open and there is no root resorption. The remainder is composed of fragments of teeth. The degree of attrition could not be ascertained.

Vertebral column. This is represented by bodies of lumbar vertebrae and some thoracic vertebrae that show facets for articulation with ribs. A fragment of a cervical vertebra with its transverse foramen was also found. A piece of the upper part of the sacrum and fragments of transverse and articular processes, some with pedicles and laminae make up the remainder.

Ribs. A number of rib fragments, mainly those of shafts and a few representing the head-neck-tubercle region are present.

Clavicle. One fragment of the right intermediate one-third was found.

Scapula. Part of the gleno-spinous region was identified.

Humerus. Two fragments were found, the right medial condyle with part of the trochlea and the adjoining olecranon fossa, and part of a shaft with its deltoid tuberosity.

Radius. A right lower fragment with its articular surface and styloid process and part of a head are present.

Ulna. Part of the right coronoid process with its radial and trochlear notch and a styloid process could be identified.

Pelvis. This consists of a rather large right auricular articular region, a right and left greater sciatic notch fragment and a few iliac pieces.

Femur. This bone is very well represented by large fragments: right and left upper ends each with a large head, neck and marked greater trochanter, as well as the upper part of the shaft; a few shaft fragments showing the linea aspera and popliteal part; and right and left lower end pieces with remains of their condyles, together with a few condylar fragments, are also present.

Patella. The major part of the right patella was found.

Tibia. Right and left upper end fragments showing the articular surfaces and tubercles were found, as well as pieces of the shaft and a right and left lower end with their medial malleoli.

Fibula. The left head and the adjoining upper one-third of the shaft and the right and left lateral malleoli are present.

The bones of the hand and foot. The major part of the right talus is there. It has a fairly large neck-body angle and a squatting facet, the navicular facet faces more dorsally. The posterior part of the left calcaneum was found. Part of the right and left navicular (foot) bone is present. The greater part of the right cuboid is there. Two cuneiforms were found.

Apart from these the remainder consists of miscellaneous metatarsal, metacarpal and phalangeal elements.

Miscellaneous longbones. This group is represented by fragments of the shafts of the humerus, radius, ulna, femur, tibia and fibula. None of these could be identified as to which bone they belong to. The size of the fragments varies from 12 mm. to 60 mm.

Miscellaneous bones. The size of the pieces varies from 3 mm. to 39 mm. None of the fragments could be identified.

Pathology. Signs of osteoarthritis or traumatic fractures are absent.

Animal bones. None were found.

CONCLUSION

It is to be expected that larger fragments should survive primitive methods of combustion. And in the case of the Rath cremation this is borne out. However, it is of interest to note that material from Wales, Scotland and England previously examined by the author (1956, 1957, 1958) was very fragmented and, therefore, most likely broken up deliberately after cremation. This did not occur in the case of the Rath remains, and thus it will be of interest to find out whether this is so in the case of other Irish cremations or whether Rath is an isolated case.

The above findings lead to the following conclusions: the individual cremated was most probably a male of about 20 to 23 years of age. The age estimation in this case was quite easy since the spheno-occipital suture had not yet fully united. The talus gives some additional information and conforms to the general neolithic pattern. The squatting facet, the large neck-body angle and the navicular facet indicate that the young adult male was in the habit of squatting.

Tables 1 and 2 give the quantitative results. Table 1 shows that nearly three-quarters of the total material could be identified, this is due to the rather larger fragments. Table 2 shows, as on previous occasions, that the miscellaneous long bone fragments form the largest identified entity and this is followed by the percentage of skull elements.

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TABLE 1. The weight and percentage distribution of the total identified and unidentified cremated human remains.

Skeletal material		Rath	
		gm	Percentage total
Identified total	..	1327	72.4
Unidentified total	..	506	27.6
TOTAL	..	1833	100.0

TABLE 2. The weight and percentage distribution of the individual identified remains

Skeletal material				Rath		
				gm	Percentage identified	Percentage total
Skull	..	..	..	249	18.8	13.6
Vertebral column	..	..	..	65	4.9	3.5
Ribs	..	..	..	46	3.5	2.5
Clavicle	..	..	..	4	0.3	0.2
Scapula	..	..	..	6	0.5	0.3
Humerus	..	..	..	11	0.8	0.6
Radius	..	..	..	5	0.4	0.3
Ulna	..	..	..	5	0.4	0.3
Upper limb total	..	..	..	31	2.3	1.7
Pelvis	..	..	..	33	2.5	1.8
Femur and patella	..	..	..	195	14.7	10.6
Tibia	..	..	..	46	3.5	2.5
Fibula	..	..	..	9	6.9	0.5
Lower limb total	..	..	..	283	21.3	15.4
Hand and foot	..	..	..	80	6.0	4.4
Miscellaneous long bones	..	..	..	573	43.2	31.3
Identified total	..	..	..	1327	100.0	72.4

BRONZE AGE POTTERY FROM BALLON HILL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

by Breandán Ó Ríordáin, *Member*

In an early issue of this *Journal*¹ the Rev. James Graves describes the results of explorations carried out at Ballon Hill² in 1853 and 1854 by J. Richardson Smith who was then staying with his brother-in-law, John Frederick Lecky, of Ballykealy House, Co. Carlow. Graves's account, as he states, was compiled from information received from Smith and from an account of the work which was delivered at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland by the Rev. William Turner³ whose information derived from a diary of the digging which had been kept by Smith. In the course of the exploration many urns and food vessels were found and Graves's article is accompanied by illustrations of twelve of the vessels and a sherd of another which had been discovered by Smith. Nine of the vessels illustrated, together with others found at the site at a later stage,⁴ were presented to the National Museum of Ireland by Colonel Frederick Beauchamp Lecky of Ballykealy House, Co. Carlow in 1928.⁵

The other three complete vessels illustrated in Graves's article⁶ were thought to have been lost or broken up as they were not included among those presented to the National Museum in 1928 and were not recorded as having been preserved in the Lecky house in Co. Carlow.

In the course of a recent examination of food vessels of Irish provenance in the British Museum⁷ the writer discovered that three of the specimens in that collection, recorded in the Acquisitions Register⁸ as being from "Ireland. No Locality", are in fact, the three missing Ballon Hill vessels. The vessels were presented to the British Museum in 1922 by N. D. Smith of Beechcroft, Kilmington, Devon. No further particulars concerning the donor are available but it seems reasonable to assume that he was a relative of the J. Richardson Smith who undertook the exploration of Ballon Hill in 1853 and subsequent years.⁹

¹"The Pagan Cemetery at Ballon Hill, County of Carlow," *JRSAI* 2, 1852-53, 295-303, Pls. 1-3.

²Td. Ballon, Par. Ballon, Bar. Forth, Co. Carlow. O.S. 6" Sheet 13, 45 cm. E., 5.6 cm. N., 430' O.D.

³*The Arch. Jour.* 11, 1854, 73-5.

⁴Graves, *JRSAI* 3, 1854-55, 374-5.

⁵Mahr, *JRSAI* 60, 1930, 73-4; National Museum Reg. Nos. 1928: 430-447.

⁶*JRSAI* 2, 1852-53, Pl. 1: 1, Pl. 2: 7, Pl. 3: 13.

⁷The writer must express his gratitude to the Council of the Royal Irish Academy which generously gave a grant towards his research expenses.

⁸B. M. Register 1920. 11-9, Nos. 2, 3 and 4.

⁹Results of further work carried out by Mr. Lecky, the landowner, in 1867, are reported in *JRSAI* 9, 1867, 209-210.

The Pottery

Food Vessel No. 1920. 11—9, 2 (Pl.I: 1)

It measures 11.7 cm. high, 13.1 cm. in external diameter at the mouth and 5.8 cm. in diameter at the base. The rim is everted and it is decorated on the internal bevel with an impressed herringbone motif. The external surface of the everted rim bears a row of vertical, incised lines and below this there are two narrow, horizontal zones; the upper zone is decorated with a herringbone motif, the lower zone is filled with a row of close-set vertical incisions. On the shoulder and below the centre there are two wide zones. The upper zone bears a band of vertical lines which are delimited, above and below, by a row of crescentic impressions. The second zone, below the centre, is decorated with incised criss-cross lines and this zone is also delimited, above and below, by a horizontal line of crescent-shaped impressions. The central area of the vessel, between these broad zones, has four narrow zones; the upper and lower bear a herringbone motif and the two central zones are decorated with short, vertical impressions. The surface of the lower body, close to the base, is divided into narrow zones which bear similar decoration to that seen on the neck and central area of the vessel.

During the second world war the vessel was on exhibition in the British Museum and was damaged as a result of a fire which occurred there during that period. The upper body is greatly discoloured and blackened and the rim has been repaired with plaster and a strip of flat wire. No details are available of its exact find-place in the cemetery.

Food Vessel No. 1920. 11—9, 3 (Pl.I: 2)

This vessel measures 11.4 cm. high, 11.1 cm. in diameter at the mouth and 5 cm. in diameter at the base. The rim is everted and the internal bevel is decorated with a herringbone motif. On the external surface the ornament on the upper part of the vessel is divided into four zones by means of irregular, deeply-scored horizontal lines. The three upper zones bear slanting scored lines and the fourth zone is decorated with an incised herringbone motif. The globular body is decorated with vertical panels of hatched triangles some of which alternate with panels bearing a herringbone motif. The lower body, near the base, is encircled by a horizontal zone of herringbone ornament. The ware is reddish-brown in colour. No details of the exact find-place of the vessel are available.

Vessel No. 1920. 11—9, 4 (Pl. II)¹⁰

The circumstances of the discovery of this vessel are described by Graves as follows¹¹:— “ In the course of further investigation (on the site of the rath) a five-sided chamber was found, walled in with long slabs and covered by a large stone. When the latter was removed, the

¹⁰ Illustrated in *Later Preh. Antiquities of the British Isles* (British Museum, 1953), Fig. 5: 4.

¹¹ *JRSAI* 2, 1852-53, 298.



Ballon Hill: Food Vessels Nos. 1 & 2.
(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



Ballon Hill: Vessel No. 3.
(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

cist appeared filled with sand. A portion of a thin lamellar javelin-head or dagger-blade of bronze, lay near the top Deeper in the sand was found a fictile vessel about the size of a large tea-cup; it contained some very small bones" This is the vessel under consideration. Graves further states that "At a greater depth in the sand was found a larger urn inverted, of less striking form and ornamental design."

The vessel, described as "about the size of a large tea-cup" is 6.7 cm. high, 9 cm. in external diameter at the mouth and 3.8 cm. in diameter at the base. Although its dimensions would lead one to compare it with vessels of the pigmy cup type it displays many of the features of a vase-type food vessel. It has an everted splayed rim and a sharp shoulder on which there are five imperforate lugs or stops. The internal bevel of the rim is decorated with three rows of herringbone impressions. Externally, the moulded rim is decorated with a row of short, oblique incised lines. The neck bears five groups of arcaded lines; there are six lines in each group and the spaces between the lines are filled with short, slanting incisions; the groups of arcaded lines terminate at the points on the shoulder where the stops or lugs occur. Below the shoulder the arcading is repeated and the inter-line spaces are filled with rows of short incised lines—each row slanting in an alternate direction to that below it. The overall effect is that of herringbone ornament. The vertical lugs at the shoulder are also decorated with short incised lines. Close to the base the general scheme of ornament is rounded off by three encircling horizontal lines and the spaces between them are filled with short, slanting incised lines. No further information is available concerning the bronze dagger-like object which was found in the cist which contained this vessel nor is it possible to identify the larger urn "of less striking form and ornamental design" which appears to have been found in the same grave.

The writer wishes to express his thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this material and to J. W. Brailsford, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., and D. M. Wilson, Esq., M.A., of the Dept. of British Antiquities who facilitated his researches in that institution.

KINALEGHIN: A FORGOTTEN IRISH CHARTERHOUSE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By Dom Andrew Gray
monk of Parkminster

COMPARATIVELY little is known, even in the Carthusian Order, of our solitary foundation in Ireland in the latter half of the thirteenth century: that is to say, from sources within the Order. By reason of the many fires that have occurred at the Grande Chartreuse in days gone by (it was burnt down at least seven times), such documents as the Order must have possessed, especially charters of the General Chapter which would have thrown light on the history of this foundation, were destroyed or lost in the course of time. The wooden structure of the old Grande Chartreuse was particularly susceptible to fire, and many important documents must have perished in this way. However, it is known that a charter of the General Chapter of 1321 did exist, which mentioned this Irish foundation; but every effort to trace this charter today has failed. Dom Le Couteulx, the Order's most reliable annalist, who died in 1709, brought his history of the Order down to the year 1429. Under the year 1279 he mentions the existence of a house in Ireland, and says that he derived his knowledge of this house from a charter of uncertain date which he quotes.¹ Dom Transam, on the other hand, who was Prior of the English Carthusians at Nieupoort in Flanders from 1654 to 1668, refused to believe in its existence.² As late as the end of the last century Dom Lawrence Hendriks, who wrote a history of the London Charterhouse, dismisses this Irish foundation with the briefest of references: 'The Irish Charterhouse is next in chronological order. Its situation and its founder are both unknown. It seems to have been simply an unsuccessful attempt to

¹Le Couteulx: *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*. 8 vols. (Montreuil, 1887-91). In vol. IV, p. 337, under the year 1279, Le Couteulx says: 'Circa haec tempora Domum habuimus in Hibernia fundatam, cujus primam notitiam eruimus ex vetusto quodam Antiquorum Statutorum codice, ad cujus calcem quaedam extant Capitulorum generalium ordinationes, inter quas sequens recensetur, quae videtur facta circa praesentem annum vel certe ante annum 1300. Sic autem habet: "Concessum est Domibus Scalae Dei, Angliae, Sancti Bartholomaei, *Hiberniae* et Sclavoniae, quod Vicarius cum Antiquiore possit confirmare electionem Prioris factam a Conventu, si Prior non fuerit in partibus illis qui pro confirmanda electione possit vocari". Quandonam vero, vel a quo aut quo in loco fundata fuerit, omnino me latet; cum jam ab annis ferme quadringentis a Nostris penitus fuerit derelicta, ut suo dicemus loco'.

²Le Couteulx: *Annales*, vol. V, p. 149, under 1321: 'Cum ante aliquot annos Georgium Transamum, virum religiosum ac doctum, Anglorum Cartusiensium Priorem, de hac cartusia consuleremus, ipse nesciens an ea unquam extitisset, respondit: "se arbitrari nunquam fuisse cartusiam in hac regione"'.

establish the Order in Ireland. It is said to have lasted forty years; but all that we know for certain is its suppression by order of the General Chapter of 1321'.³ Miss Margaret Thompson, in her admirable book *The Carthusian Order in England*, devotes little more than a page to its history, adding that 'the circumstances of this Irish foundation and its exact locality are unknown'.⁴ This is a little surprising, because at the time Miss Thompson was writing much more was known. Today we are in the happy position to say quite definitely who the founder was, when the house was founded (at least within a year or two) and its exact location.

None of the native Irish annalists mentions the foundation of a Charterhouse in the thirteenth century. In 1909-10, J. P. Dalton published three excellent articles on 'The Abbey of Kilnalahan' in the *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, and notes the silence of earlier Irish historians: 'Not less remarkable than the fact that the solitary Carthusian foundation to which Ireland can lay claim belonged to Kinalekin in the circumstance that its existence has escaped the notice of all the compilers of Irish ecclesiastical history. None of the Irish annalists makes any reference to it; and none of the later writers appears to have suspected it'.⁵

In 1654 Sir James Ware published the first edition of his small but invaluable volume *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus*, in which he notes the existence of a priory of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, and a house of Friars Minor at Kinalekin in Co. Galway.⁶ Ware was followed by the French antiquarian, Louis Alemand, who copies Ware's statements, in 1690.⁷ In 1786 the Irish antiquarian Mervyn Archdall published his *Monasticon Hibernicum*, in which he was able to make some use of Ware's unpublished notes as well as of his published work. He mentions a commandery of the Knights Hospitallers and also a Franciscan friary at Kinaleghin, and states that this latter house was founded before 1325.⁸ We shall see that Archdall's statements are based on a misunderstanding of the evidence available to him in the late eighteenth century. None of these three antiquarians mentions the existence of a Charterhouse at Kinaleghin, though two of the documents cited by Archdall from a manuscript collection of notes on Irish

³L. Hendriks: *The London Charterhouse* (Kegan Paul, 1889), p. 10.

⁴M. Thompson: *The Carthusian Order in England* (S.P.C.K., 1930), p. 157.

⁵*Journal of Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, VI (1909-10), p. 25. I wish to acknowledge the help given me by Father Gwynn in working out the bibliography of this complicated story.

⁶Ware: *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus* (London, 1654), p. 218: 'Kinalekin: Ord. Minorum'. Repeated in second edition (1658), p. 252. See also below, note 42.

⁷Alemand: *Histoire Monastique d'Irlande* (Paris, 1690), p. 270. An anonymous English translation of this work was published in 1722: *Monasticon Hibernicum, or The Monastical History of Ireland* (London, 1722). Alemand's account of Kinalekin is on p. 281.

⁸Archdall: *Monasticon Hibernicum* (Dublin, 1786), p. 293.

ecclesiastical history, known to scholars as *King's Collectanea*, certainly refer to this house.

The first clear proof that there had once been a Carthusian priory at Kinaleghin is to be found in a bull of Pope Gregory XI, dated 29 July 1371 and addressed to John O'Grady, archbishop of Tuam.⁹ The text of this bull was printed in full, though not quite accurately, by Theiner in 1864. I have been able to see a copy of the original bull, as preserved in the Roman archives, and I give here the correct text of the opening sentences:

Exhibita nobis pro parte dilectorum/fratrum ordinis minorum provincie Ibernice secundum morem dicti ordinis petitio conti/nebat, quod in Ibernia in quodam loco dicto *Kenelechin* Clonfertensis diocesis, fratres ordinis/Cartusiensis quoddam oratorium exile cum paucis cellis olim habuerunt, quod iam per triginita/annos est desertum, quodque iidem fratres Cartusienses prefatum oratorium sic, ut prefertur,/derelictum et desolatum in manibus loci Ordinarii dimiserunt et etiam resignarunt . . .¹⁰

This document proves beyond all dispute that a small Carthusian foundation existed at a place called (in this text) *Kenelechin*, in the diocese of Clonfert; and that it had been abandoned by the Carthusian monks for some thirty years before the date of Gregory XI's bull. The first mention of this new document to appear in print was made by W. H. Grattan Flood in a short article which he published in September 1907 on 'The Carthusians in Ireland'.¹¹ Dalton does not mention Grattan Flood's article in his own account of 'The Abbey of Kilnalahan' which appeared in 1909-10; but he acknowledges the help he had received from some notes left by the Irish Franciscan antiquarian, Father R. Browne O.F.M., which were then preserved at the Franciscan Library, Merchants' Quay, Dublin.¹² Grattan Flood does not seem to have used Father Browne's notes, but he had communicated with the monks of Parkminster in England. They lent him various books on Carthusian history, and with this help he wrote a short, but interesting account of the Order's history and of its sole foundation in Ireland. On the history of Kinaleghin priory he plainly knew nothing beyond the few facts mentioned in Gregory XI's bull of 1371.

Dalton's three articles mark a very real advance. He makes generous acknowledgement of help which he had received from M. J. McEnery, one of the ablest scholars in the Irish Public Record Office, who drew

⁹Theiner: *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum* (Rome, 1864), p. 343. Theiner wrongly gives the name of this priory as *Kevelechin*, and in the *argumentum* which he prefixes to the document he describes it as being in the diocese of Elphin, not Clonfert.

¹⁰The present Vatican reference is: *Reg. Aven.* 173, fol. 416v.

¹¹W. H. Grattan Flood: 'The Carthusians in Ireland', in *Irish Eccles. Record*, Fourth Series, vol. 22 (1907), pp. 304-9.

¹²Dalton, *loc. cit.* VI, p. 65.

Dalton's attention to two important documents which had been calendared by H. S. Sweetman in the official *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, and which had escaped the notice of Grattan Flood. In 1877 Sweetman had calendared the text of letters of protection granted by Edward I to the prior, monks and lay brothers (*conversi*) of the Carthusian Order *de Domo Dei* at Kinalbegh on 27 July 1282.¹³ In 1886, after Sweetman's death, the fifth volume of his *Calendar* appeared, with a very full summary of the important papal taxation of the dioceses and churches of Ireland, most of which can be dated to the years 1306-7. In this taxation the 'Carthusian prior and convent' appears as rector of *Kenaloyne*, the valuation being £6 13s. 4d.¹⁴ The same taxation also lists a vicarage of *Kynaleyn*, with a valuation of 27s. 4d.; this vicarage is in the same deanery of *Dondery*, but is distinct from the Carthusian rectory. Dalton made use of these two documents to identify the site of this forgotten Carthusian priory, and to show that its history could be traced back at least as far as 1282. The latter part of his narrative is concerned with the history of the Franciscan friary which was established at Kinalbegh in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Since 1910 no new light has been thrown on the history of this Irish Charterhouse until recently, and Miss Thompson's brief mention shows that she was not aware of most of the evidence cited by Dalton in his articles. In 1956 Mr. H. G. Richardson discovered a thirteenth-century copy of the original foundation charter of this priory in the Public Record Office. This new charter proves to be of the greatest value for the history of Kinalbegh, and also for the history of some other religious houses in the neighbourhood. When Mr. Richardson noticed this document, he recognised it at once as a 'find' of unusual interest, and sent a photostat of the charter to the present writer, who then got into communication with Mr. Neville Hadcock and Rev. Professor Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. As a result of Mr. Richardson's discovery, and of information received from several scholars, in England and in Ireland, it is now possible to confirm the accuracy of Dalton's identification of the site of this Irish Charterhouse, and also to fix the date of its foundation within narrow limits. The founder's name was John, son of Richard de Cogan; and he founded this priory on a site which is now a small village called Abbey, some five miles north of Woodford in the parish of Ballinakill, on the confines of the two counties of Galway and Clare. Monastic ruins are still to be seen on this site, and views of these ruins were published by Dalton as illustrations to his articles. But these are ruins, not of the Carthusian priory, but of the Franciscan friary. They date from the late fourteenth or fifteenth century.

¹³ *Cal. Docs. Ireland*, II, no. 1942. This document has since been published in *Calendar of Patent Rolls*: Edward I.

¹⁴ *ibid.* V, p. 222.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHARTERHOUSE.

First it will be necessary to decide on the form of the name we will use to designate the place where this Charterhouse was founded. As Dalton points out in his articles, it has been spelt in many ways, which is not surprising. In the manuscript description by John O'Donovan, which is filed with the Ordnance Survey papers, it is given as *Kinalekin*; in various earlier records and annals as *Kinaleghin*, *Kenaloyne* and so on.¹⁵ In Gregory XI's bull it is given as *Kenelechin*, whilst in the endorsement on the back of the newly found charter it is written *Kilnaleyhine*. All these forms are variants of the original Irish name *Cinel F(h)eichin*, or Tribe of Feichin: a name which is still commemorated in the well of Saint Feichin, which exists to this day a little to the south of the village of Abbey. The name *Kilnalahan*, by which it has come to be known today, is a corruption which has crept in through English documents such as the endorsement on our charter, and only appears in this form much later. The spelling *Kinaleghin* occurs in the formal letters of protection which Edward I granted to 'the prior, monks and brethren of the Carthusian Order of the House of God (*Domus Dei*) in Kinalaghin'; and we propose to adopt this spelling as being nearest to the original Irish spelling.

Until the discovery of this new charter, all scholars seem to have assumed that the founder of this Charterhouse was either Walter or Richard de Burgo, the Red Earl; and the date of the foundation was given as c. 1280. Grattan Flood named Richard as the probable founder; but Dalton thought it more probable that the Carthusians were brought to 'the de Burgo country' by Walter, who died in 1271, and that the royal letters of protection were granted in 1282 at the request of Richard.¹⁶ The principal reason for this belief was that the Charterhouse lay in what is most certainly de Burgo country; many tombs of the de Burgo family are still to be seen in the immediate vicinity of the former priory. But that, of course, is no proof; and the claims of Walter or Richard seem to have been admitted in the absence of any rival claimant. We now know that the founder was John de Cogan, son of Richard; and it would seem from the charter that John had already given lands to the Friars Minor in Claregalway; thereby bringing the date of the foundation of the Franciscan house at Claregalway to some year between 1250 and 1256, thirty years before the date commonly given hitherto.

Our charter not only gives John de Cogan as the founder, but tells us which John de Cogan was founder: for there were many of that name. He was John, son of Richard de Cogan and of Basilia his wife. We learn also that John was married twice: first to 'Marie' and secondly to 'Amia' or Amy, for both of whom he asks prayers. Further, it was the founder's wish that this Charterhouse should be called *Domus Dei de Cogans*. We

¹⁵ Dalton, *loc. cit.*, VI, p. 19.

¹⁶ Dalton, *loc. cit.*, VI, p. 23.

learn from Edward I's letters of protection that the house was in fact called *Domus Dei*; but the phrase *de Cogans* does not appear on this or any other relevant document that we have been able to trace.

We now come to the puzzling question of the date of the foundation. The endorsement on the back of the charter reads as follows: 'Datum apud Kilnaleyhin. Anno domini M^oCC^olx^o octavo. Anno regni regis Henrici filii Iohannis regis L^o primo'. This can be translated: 'Given at Kilnaleyhin in the year of Our Lord 1268, in the 51st year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John'. Here we are at once up against a problem. By the normal English reckoning, the dominical year and the regnal year do not tally. The 51st year of the reign of Henry III ended on 27 October 1267, or Michaelmas 1267 in the exchequer year. One inference could be that the Carthusians, like some other orders, did not follow the *mos anglicanus*; and that the scribe who wrote this endorsement was using the *calculus Pisanus*, whereby the dominical year was reckoned as commencing on the 25th March of the *preceding* year: in which case the date of this endorsement would be between 25 March, 1267 and 27 October of the same year.¹⁷ But the *calculus Pisanus*, which survived at Pisa to the middle of the eighteenth century, was not used in the papal chancery after the middle of the twelfth century, and is excessively rare on English documents. It is, therefore, most unlikely that it would be used on a document of the mid-thirteenth century concerned with a house in a remote corner of Galway; and it seems very much more probable that the scribe who endorsed this charter made a mistake in one or other of the two 'years'.

The date of this endorsement is thus either 1267 or 1268; but the exact date is not unduly important, as from internal evidence it appears that the endorsement was made some years after the date of the original charter, and probably in the time of the founder's son. The evidence for this conclusion turns on the witnesses to the charter, who are named as follows: John fitzGeoffrey, then justiciar of Ireland; Maurice fitzGerald; Ralph of Norwich, then chancellor of Ireland; John fitzThomas; Richard de la Rochelle; Miles Roche; David Roche; and many others.

Now at least two of these signatories were dead before the year 1267. The Annals of Osney and the contemporary Annals of Thomas Wykes record the death of John fitzGeoffrey, justiciar of Ireland, 'about the feast of St. Clement [23 November] 1258'; and Matthew Paris adds the detail that John died near Guildford in that year.¹⁸ Moreover, John fitzGeoffrey, who witnessed the founder's charter as justiciar of Ireland, ceased to be justiciar shortly before 27 June 1256.¹⁹ Maurice fitzGerald, who had been justiciar of Ireland from 1232 to 1245, died in 1257

¹⁷ See the *Handbook of Dates* (1945), pp. 1-6.

¹⁸ *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series), vol. IV, p. 122; Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* (Rolls Series), vol. V, p. 724.

¹⁹ Orpen: *Ireland under the Normans*, vol. III, pp. 13-14.

according to Matthew Paris under that year.²⁰ The third witness, Ralph of Norwich, was chancellor of Ireland when he witnessed the founder's charter. He was appointed to this office on 9 July 1249, and held Office until May 1256, when he became archbishop of Dublin.²¹ His place as chancellor was taken by John de Broningsfeld before June 1257.²² The founder's charter can thus be dated as later than July 1249 and earlier than June 1256. A date c. 1250-56 is reasonable. But the copy which Mr. Richardson found recently in the Public Record Office must be somewhat later, for both John fitzGeoffrey and Ralph of Norwich are said to have been then (*tunc*) justiciar and chancellor. Since the copy is endorsed 1267 (or 1268), we may assume that the copy was made at that time, some twelve years or more after the date of the original charter.

Father Gwynn, who has helped me in fixing these dates, has suggested that this copy of the charter was made out, not by the founder (John I), but by his son (John II). We do not know the date of the founder's death; but we know that his son (John II) was dead before 1276, and that he had been born in 1243.²³ A re-issue of the founder's charter in 1267 or 1268 may very well be connected with the take over of property in England and Ireland that followed the death of John I, which may perhaps have occurred shortly before 1267. John III, grandson of the founder, was still a minor in 1276; but he had come of age shortly before 22 February 1281.²⁴ It was thus the founder's grandson who obtained letters of protection for the prior and monks of Kinaleghin from Edward I on 27 July 1282. Two days before that date, John de Cogan, 'remaining on the king's service in England', obtained letters of attorney in the Irish courts for Richard de Cogan, presumably his kinsman. It was not until 24 February 1285 that John was granted letters of attorney in England, he himself being about by licence to depart for Ireland.²⁵

THE de COGAN FAMILY

We still have to show which of the many John de Cogan was the founder of our Irish Charterhouse. As full a family tree as we have been able to put together is given below as Appendix B. For our purposes we have called the founder John I. We know that this John had a son (John II) and a grandson (John III), particulars of whom are given in Appendix B. Of John I all that we know for certain is that he was the son of Richard de Cogan; but we are not told whether this Richard was the same as Richard, brother of the famous Miles de Cogan, the conqueror of Cork. That Richard is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis as having taken

²⁰ Matthew Paris, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 642.

²¹ *Cal. Docs. Ireland*, I, no. 2998; II, no. 499.

²² *ibid.* II, no. 552.

²³ *ibid.* I, p. 477; II, no. 1279.

²⁴ *ibid.* II, nos. 1279; 1789.

²⁵ *ibid.* II, nos. 1941-2; III, no. 21.

part with his brother Miles in the siege of Dublin in 1171.²⁶ The interval between 1171 and 1250 is too long for us to identify him with the father of John I. We know, too, from our charter that the mother of John I was named Basilia; and from other sources we know that Basilia was the sister of Walter de Ridelsford.²⁷ We know also that Gerald de Prendergast married a Butler (*Pincerna*), and had an only surviving daughter who married (Sir) John de Cogeham or Cogan, who in turn had an only son John, born on 8 September 1243.²⁸ This John, whom I identify as John II, inherited one half of Gerald's lands, and married Juliana, daughter of Gerald son of Maurice fitzGerald, the second baron of Offaly. John I also had a daughter, named Basilia after John's mother, who married Nicholas son of John de Verdun, and appears to have left issue.²⁹

These names and connections by marriage fit perfectly, if we assume that the John de Cogeham or Cogan who married the daughter of Gerald de Prendergast was our John I. We must further assume that Richard, John's father, was a son or nephew of Richard, the brother of the conqueror of Cork. John II, as we have said, had a son John III, who was 'approaching his age' (*i.e.* the age of twenty-one) *c.* 1280-81, his father and grandfather both being dead at this time.³⁰ John III seems to have died *c.* 1311, and was buried in the church of the Dominican Fathers at Dublin.³¹ Yet another John de Cogan, who may perhaps have been a grandson of John III, is named in the chronicle of the Friars Minor of Claregalway, under the date 28 June 1327. This chronicle is no longer extant, but Sir James Ware made extracts from it in the early seventeenth century. One of these extracts gives the text of a charter by which this John, who calls himself *Ioannes Magnus de Cogan, fundator monasterii et conventus de Clareyrdoule*, confirms all previous grants to the Friars Minor of Claregalway.³² It is to this last John, who was evidently a lavish benefactor, that the imposing buildings which can still be seen at Claregalway are mainly due. That is most probably the reason why this John of the early fourteenth century came to be remembered as the founder of the friary, though our charter makes it plain that John I had already brought the Friars Minor to this site in the middle of the thirteenth century.

A problem arises concerning the parentage of the two wives of John I, whose names are given in our charter as *Maria* and *Amia*. I think that

²⁶ Giraldus Cambrensis; *Expugnatio Hibernica* in *Opera Giraldi*, ed. Dimock (Rolls Series), vol. V, pp. 264-5.

²⁷ *Register of St. Thomas, Dublin*, ed. Gilbert (Rolls Series), p. 145 (no. CLXX); *Cal. Docs. Ireland*, IV, p. 44.

²⁸ *Cal. Docs. Ireland*, I, p. 477.

²⁹ *ibid.* II, nos. 181; 1635.

³⁰ *ibid.* II, no. 1789.

³¹ *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. Gilbert (Rolls Series), vol. II, p. 340.

³² Lansdowne MS. 418, f. 73; also in T.C.D. MS. F. 4. 23, p. 11. The full text has been printed by Father E. B. FitzMaurice and A. G. Little, *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland* (Manchester, 1920), p. 128-9.

we may safely assume, though we cannot prove the fact, that one of these two must have been the daughter of Gerald de Prendergast above-mentioned. Mr. Geoffrey Hand, who has been working on Irish entries on the Plea Rolls of this period, has sent me an extract from an official transcript of a lost Irish Plea Roll of 8 and 9 Edward I. These transcripts were made in the early years of last century, and are still preserved in the Public Record Office of Ireland, though the original Rolls were destroyed in 1922. The extract reads as follows:

Connach' 333: *Anna* que fuit (uxor) *Johannis de Cogan* optulit se (c. 1279-80) (quarto die versus) priorem domus Carthuse de placito quod reddet ei terciam partem villarum de *Tillodron* & *Dorys* et versus Symonem filium Walteri filium Philippi de placito quod reddet ei terciam partem villarum de . . . glas. Predicti prior et Symon non venerunt &c . . .

In plain English, this text means that Anna (?Amia), widow of John de Cogan, sought to recover a third of the townlands or vills of *Tillodron* (Tyrloderan) and *Dorys* (le Deres) from the prior of the Carthusian house in Ireland, and a third of some other townlands from Symon, son of Walter fitzPhilip. The prior and Symon did not appear on the appointed day, and on the fourth day after this Anna appeared and was granted the usual award. Both place-names and proper names are often badly copied in these official transcripts; but I think we need have no scruple in identifying *Tillodron* with Tyrloderan, *Dorys* with le Deres, and *Anna* with Amia, all of them names that occur in our charter. A widow was entitled by English law to a third of her late husband's lands in dower for her life-time. This extract shows plainly that by its date (c. 1279-80) John, the husband of Amia, was dead; and that his widow was seeking recovery of her dower from the Prior of Kinaleghin. The recent death of her son (or perhaps stepson) John II would make it natural for her to seek in this way to establish her legal rights. Once again, all these names and dates tie up together, and the position as a whole becomes clearer.

Three other entries on the official records of the reign of Henry III also bear upon our enquiry. The first is taken from the *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. I, p.289, under the date 28 October 1245 (30 Henry III), m.11: "*Chester*: Grant to John de Cogehan and his heirs of free warren in his demesne lands in *Kineleyelin* and *Fhulo*."

A similar, but very much fuller entry is taken from the same *Calendar*, vol. I, p.412, under date 10 December 1252 (37 Henry III), m.18: "*Gillingham*: Grant to John de Cogan of free warren in his demesne lands in Ireland; of a weekly market on Saturday at his manor of Clare, and of a yearly fair there . . .; of a weekly market on Thursday at his manor of Ardagh in Kineluth' and of a yearly fair there . . .; of a weekly market on Tuesday at his manor of Maysketh in Kynalegham, and of a yearly fair there . . .; of a weekly market on Monday at Castle More in

Desmond and of a fair there . . .” This same charter seems to have been re-issued from Clarendon on 12 December, two days after the grant made at Gillingham; and has been calendared by Sweetman in his *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, vol. II, p.18. Sweetman took his text from the miscellaneous deeds of the Queen’s Remembrancer, preserved among the exchequer deeds in the Public Record Office.

Sixteen years after this last grant, a very similar grant was made to John de Cogan, who was almost certainly John II. This grant is dated 12 December 1268 at Clarendon. It repeats the terms of the grant of 12 December 1252, and will be found in Sweetman’s *Calendar*, vol. II, p.137. Since the witnesses are here given in full and belong to the earlier date, it seems clear that this grant of 12 December 1268 is in fact no more than a re-issue in favour of John II of a grant that had been made originally to his father, John I. It will be noticed that the date of this re-issue corresponds very closely with the date of the endorsement of our newly found charter. About the same time (8 September 1267) John de Cogan was granted confirmation of his manors in Devon and Somerset at Shrewsbury: see *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. II p.80, under date 51 Henry III, m.3.

These various dates fit into a general scheme as follows. John I had plainly established himself in Kinalaghin as early as 1245, when he obtained the grant of free warren in his demesne lands there. By 1252 he had established himself also at Claregalway and in some other manor which has not yet been identified; and he also retained his claim to a manor in Desmond. These lands were claimed by John II in 1268, after he had already succeeded in establishing his claim to his father’s manors in Devon and Somerset in 1267. It would thus seem clear that we have been right in assuming that John I had died shortly before 1267.

One other grant made by a member of the de Cogan family to a religious order in this same area should also be mentioned here. On 18 August 1254 Pope Innocent IV confirmed a grant made by William de Cogan to the Cistercian community of Dunbrothy in Co. Wexford.³³ The grant was of churches and benefices in Portumna, *Lechinelys* and *Muntermolinara*. We do not know how close a kinsman of John I was this benefactor of the Cistercian monks; but Portumna lies so close to the lands held by John I in Kinalaghin that we may presume that the two men were members of the same family, and had taken an active share in the recent conquest of this part of Connacht.

To sum up, we have no real evidence as to the date of the death of John I.³⁴ Orpen thinks that he came of age c. 1240, and he certainly took part in the conquest of Connacht during these years. Since John II held

³³ *Chartularies of St. Mary’s Abbey*, vol. II, p. 119. William, son of Miles de Cogan, made a grant to the monks of Dunbrothy; as also did Miles himself: *ibid.* vol. II, pp. 190-1. But these charters are of a much earlier date.

³⁴ John I is almost certainly the John de Cogan who was taken prisoner by Maurice fitzGerald in 1264: Orpen, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 241.

his lands c. 1267-76, it seems clear that John I was dead by 1266 or 1267. John II was dead before September 1276, when his son (John III) was still a minor. John III came of age and succeeded in due course to his father's estates c. 1281; and he seems to have died c. 1311. His son Miles was killed in the battle of Athenry, when Feidhlimidh O Conchobhair won back his kingdom in 1316. John de Cogan, who appears as a founder and benefactor of the Friars Minor at Claregalway in 1327, may perhaps have been a son of this Miles; but we have no direct evidence as to his parentage. Nor have I been able to trace the direct line of John I beyond this period.

THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE CHARTERHOUSE

It now only remains to speak of the subsequent history of the small Charterhouse of Kinaleghin, in so far as we can do so with any degree of accuracy. In or about the years 1306-7 a complete new record of the ecclesiastical taxation of Ireland was made; and an almost complete copy of this record has been preserved in a series of rolls at the Public Record Office. The record is divided according to each diocese; and the Carthusian priory of Kinaleghin (here spelt *Kenaloyn*) appears under the deanery of Duniry (*Dondery*) in the diocese of Clonfert.³⁵ There were five rectories in this deanery, of which the Carthusian priory was one, with a valuation of £6 13s. 4d. There were also six vicarages, among the latter being a vicarage of *Kynaleyn*, with a valuation of £1 7s. 4d. This entry proves that the Carthusian monks were still at Kinaleghin in or about the year 1307, and that their rectorial rights were fairly considerable.

The monks were still at Kinaleghin in 1310, as we learn from an entry from an Irish Pipe Roll (now lost), which was copied into the collection of extracts, now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, under the title 'King's Collectanea'.³⁶ It was formerly thought that this very valuable collection had been made for the benefit of Archbishop William King, who was Archbishop of Dublin from 1703 to 1729; but it is now known that the title 'King's Collectanea' is erroneous, and that these extracts from Irish official records, many of which have since been lost or destroyed, were made by Dr. John Madden, a Dublin antiquarian of the late seventeenth century. As a rule Dr. Madden was careful to note the source from which he took his entry; but in the first of these two entries which concern us here he has not noted his source, but has simply noted the date as 1310. It is very probable that he took both entries from lost Irish Plea Rolls; and this conjecture can be confirmed for the second entry, since Madden has noted that he took this extract from a roll kept in the Birmingham Tower of Dublin Castle, and numbered 173. From a list

³⁵ *Cal. Docs. Ireland*, V, p. 222.

³⁶ T.C.D. MS. F. 1. 16, p. 174; Harris: *Collectanea* (in *National Library of Ireland*), vol. XIII, p. 66. Mr. William O'Sullivan, who is in charge of the Manuscript Room in T.C.D., has recently established the true nature of 'King's Collectanea'.

printed by the Irish Record Commissioners in their *Eighth Report* (1818) it is known that one of the Plea Rolls for 13 Edw. III was numbered 173. Madden's reference can thus be checked for this second entry, and it is probable that his first entry was taken from the same source. The first entry occurs in King's Collectanea (T.C.D. MS. F.1.16), p.174, and reads as follows:

pr: St. Jo: Bpt: Jo: pr: *etc* custos ter. & h. Jo. de Burgo cujus vidua de Kinaleghkyn Joa pet: dotem sibi in Tullahynnergyn a pre. pdo. 1310. The second entry occurs on the same page, and reads as follows:

1339 Jo: pr: *etc* pet: a Jo: f. Jo: de Burgo unam villat: t: in Tullagh mc Ruskyn de qua Jo: ep. clonfert: injuste & sine Judicio deseiss: Jo: Blohely qnd: prior, *etc.* pdecess: Jo: nunc pr: 6. 173. 13 Ed. 3.

These two entries were known to Archdall in the eighteenth century, who quotes them from King's Collectanea, as copied by Walter Harris in vol. XIII, p.66 of the Harris Collectanea, now in the National Library of Ireland.³⁷ But Archdall quotes them in a way which has led almost all later scholars astray. His error is due in part to an earlier mistake made by Sir James Ware in his volume *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus*, p.218.

Ware has two entries for Kinalekin, in Co. Galway. The first is of a priory of St. John the Baptist of the Knights Hospitallers. The second is of a house of Friars Minor. We have seen that the second entry is explained by the bull of Gregory XI, which permitted the Friars Minor to take possession of the former priory of the Carthusians at Kinaleghin. Ware gives no authority for his entry concerning either the Knights Hospitallers or the Friars Minor. He is usually well informed, but it is not easy to see where he found his authority for the former house. By good fortune we still possess a very full register of the central house of the Knights Hospitallers in Ireland, the Priory of Kilmainham. This register was compiled about the middle of the fourteenth century, some thirty years after the date at which the Knights Hospitallers acquired most, but not all, of the property that had belonged to the Knights Templars before their suppression by order of Pope Clement V. This register has been edited by the late Dr. Charles McNeill for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, with an excellent historical Introduction. There is no mention of any priory at Kinaleghin, and Dr. McNeill is unwilling to admit any fully established house of the Order at Kinaleghin.³⁸

Ware's bare statement, backed by no documentary evidence, was expanded by Alemand in his *Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*, which was published at Paris in 1690. Alemand wrote without any personal knowledge

³⁷ Archdall: *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 293.

³⁸ *Registrum de Kilmainham*, ed. Charles McNeill (Dublin, 1932), p. vii. Dr. McNeill does not discuss the evidence for Kinaleghin in detail, but agrees with a French historian of the Knights Hospitallers who finds Archdall's statements 'très sujets à caution'.

of Ireland or of Irish history, but he had the advantage of consulting some of the Irishmen who had taken refuge in France during the Jacobite wars. His statements are not, therefore, to be dismissed too lightly, though they need to be checked, where possible. Writing of 'Kilnalekin' in Co. Galway, he follows Ware in his statement that a commandery of the Knights of Malta was founded here in the thirteenth century; but he adds a new detail when he says that this house was founded by the O'Flaherty family (*par les Flac-Arty, Seigneurs Irlandois*).³⁹ No other house of the Knights in Ireland was founded by a native Irish family, and it is thus most unlikely that a commandery of the Order was founded at Kinaleghin by an O'Flaherty in the thirteenth century, especially in this area. Yet Archdall follows Alemand in his account of this commandery, and proceeds to cite the two texts which he had found in King's Collectanea as referring to two priors of this commandery, as follows:⁴⁰

'We find that John was prior in the year 1310; when Joan, widow of John de Burgh, sued him as custos of his lands, &c. for her dower thereout. John de Blohely was prior; he was succeeded by a third John, who sued John de Burgh for a townland in Tullagh M'Ruskyn, of which John O'Lean, who was consecrated bishop of Clonfert in the (year) 1322, and died A.D. 1336, had unlawfully disseized John de Blohely, predecessor of John the present prior'.

Archdall's rendering of these two extracts is on the whole correct, though there seems no reason to assume that there were three successive priors of Kinaleghin named John between 1310 and 1339, the date given in King's Collectanea for the second extract. John of the first entry (1310) may very well be John de Blohely, who had ceased to be prior before 1339. John, bishop of Clonfert, who had taken possession of the vill of 'Tullagh M'Ruskyn' must be John (Sean) O Laidhin, who was consecrated bishop on 22 September 1322, and who died on 7 April 1336.⁴¹ If the date given in King's Collectanea for the second entry (1339) is correct, then John the prior who brought this suit was taking action after the bishop's death. From the scanty records of the diocese of Clonfert at this period, it seems probable that the see was vacant for some years after Bishop John's death in 1336. So far the contemporary records support Archdall in his interpretation of these two entries; but it is far from clear that he is correct in assuming that Prior John of 1310 and Prior John of 1339 were acting on behalf of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. We have seen that the bull of Gregory XI suggests that the Carthusian monks had abandoned the site some thirty years before the date of the bull (1371). If Prior John in 1339 failed to win his

³⁹ Alemand: *Histoire Monastique d'Irlande*, p. 129. In the English translation (1722), p. 135, this is rendered: 'Kilnalekin, Preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers, was founded in the thirteenth Century, under the Invocation of St. John Baptist, by the *Flagharties*, Irish Men of Quality'.

⁴⁰ Archdall, *loc. cit.*

⁴¹ *Works of Sir James Ware*, ed. Harris (Dublin, 1739), vol. I, p. 640.

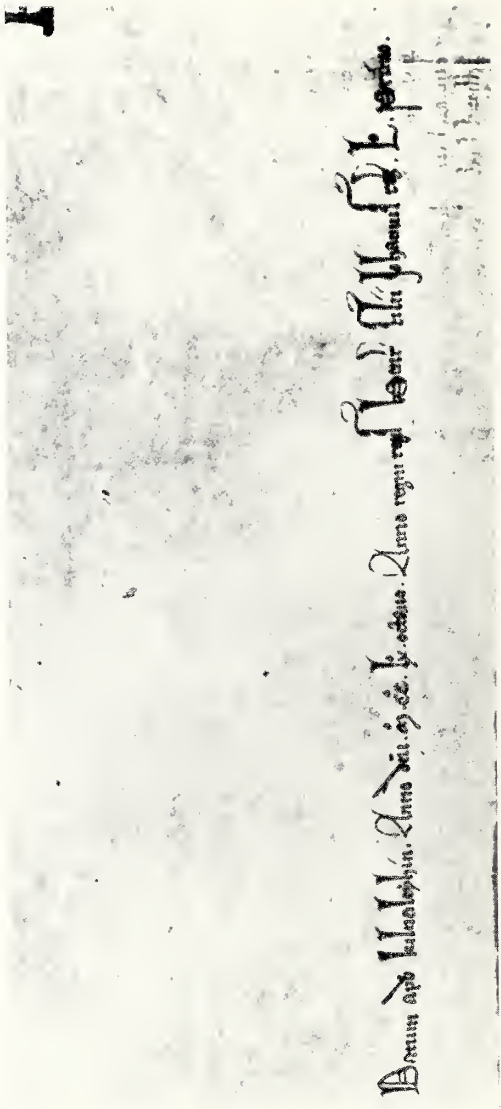
action and recover the lands which Bishop John had seized at some earlier date, we may perhaps have here the immediate occasion of the decision to abandon the Charterhouse; and we should have to conclude that some at least of the Carthusian community were still at Kinaleghin in 1339.

A different story is suggested by Le Couteulx, who bases his narrative on an authentic document of the year 1306.⁴² From his account, it would appear that definite negotiations were on foot as early as 1306 for the sale of the Charterhouse at Kinaleghin; and that the former priory was sold to the Knights Hospitallers in that year. The sale is spoken of as having been completed (*in perfectione alienationis Domus praedictae Hospitali factae*) in a document made out by the Prior of St. Giles of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, and dated at Avignon on Tuesday after the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 1306.⁴³ None the less, Le Couteulx is quite definite in his statement that, though the sale of this house is spoken of as completed in 1306, the priory of Kinaleghin was still the property of the Carthusian Order for the next fifteen years. It was at the General Chapter of 1321 that the Diffinitors decided that the Irish Charterhouse should be abandoned. Le Couteulx makes this statement on the authority of a fragmentary decree of that year, in which the English priors were ordered to come to the General Chapter at the appointed time (that is, every leap year) and get what they could in rents and money from the Irish house, since this house was useless to the Order (*cum sit inutilis Ordini*).⁴⁴ It was further ordained that in future no more monks were to be sent to this house, unless perhaps it should be necessary to send someone to negotiate the aforesaid exchange (*nisi forte ad tractandum de praedicta permutatione facienda*).

⁴² Le Couteulx: *Annales*, vol. IV, p. 531 f. Under the year 1306, Le Couteulx relates a complicated story of a grant to the Grande Chartreuse of a serf and his family and goods (of *Les Echelles* in the Dauphiné—there is still the ruins of a Preceptory there), which involved the consent of the Knights Hospitallers. Their consent was given in view of the recent sale of the Irish Charterhouse. If Sir James Ware had seen this or a similar document before 1654, it might perhaps explain his statement that there was a priory of the Knights Hospitallers at Kinaleghin; but Ware does not cite his evidence for this statement, and Le Couteulx does not give the name Kinaleghin.

⁴³ The full text of this charter is given below in Appendix C.

⁴⁴ The official decree or *charta* of the General Chapter of 1321 is given as follows by Le Couteulx, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 149: 'Anno Christianae salutis millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo primo, Indictione quarta, Patres Diffinitores optimum ac nostro Ordini honestum judicarunt, si cartusia, quam ab annis circiter quadraginta in Hibernia erectam vidimus, penitus desereretur. Id patet ex fragmento Chartae capitularis, in qua de defectu hujus Domus haec legimus: "Priores Angliae veniant ad Capitulum generale statuto tempore (annis videlicet bissextilibus), et de Domo Hiberniae extrahant quidquid poterunt in redditibus et pecunia, cum sit inutilis Ordini, et hoc faciant de consilio peritorum: nec ulterius mittantur monachi ad eandem, nisi forte ad tractandum de praedicta permutatione facienda". Cum quibus vero fuerit illa permutatio facienda non habemus, nisi forsitan cum Equitibus Jerosolimitanis, in quorum gratiam hanc Domum, ante quindecim annos, distractam fuisse vidimus, sed, ut ex his conjicere est, sine ullo fructu aut effectu; quam tamen circa istud tempus sortitam fuisse verisimile est: nulla enim posthac de eadem cartusia mentio inter Nos facta est'.



Endorsement on Kinalaghin Charter.

What is the exchange (*permutatio*) referred to in these last words? Le Couteulx tells us expressly that he had only a fragment of the *charta* of 1321 before him when he wrote: *Id patet ex fragmento Chartae capitularis in qua de defectu hujus Domus haec legimus*. Without the full text we cannot know for certain what this *praedicta permutatio* can have been. Le Couteulx thinks that the delayed sale to the Knights Hospitallers is in question; and he may well be right. The absence, however, of any mention of a priory or commandery of the Knights Hospitallers in the register of Kilmainham, which seems to have been compiled about the middle of the fourteenth century and which has entries as late as 1349, makes it probable that the Knights Hospitallers did not in fact ever gain possession of this house. Prior John, who was seeking to recover the vill of 'Tullagh M'Ruskyn' from the bishop in 1339 was certainly seeking to recover lands that had formerly belonged to the Charterhouse of Kinaleghin. The fragmentary decree of 1321 makes it plain that this house, though now useless to the Order, had not yet been wholly abandoned; and Prior John was probably seeking to clear up the legal position, possibly with a view to the exchange or sale which is mentioned in the decree of 1321.

Dalton has put forward a theory of his own in the second of his articles on the 'Abbey of Kilnalahan'. He suggests that the Knights Hospitallers of Kilmainham became owners of the rectorial rights of the former Charterhouse, whilst the Friars Minor got possession of the lands and buildings. In his third article he states his view more clearly:⁴⁵ 'At Kinalekin, as in other places, the prior of the Hospital—assuming that a residential preceptory was founded there by the Knights—can have been little more than the manager of the local estates of the wealthy Kilmainham community . . . But as rectors of Kinalekin the Knights—whether resident or non-resident—were under legal obligation to the bishop of Clonfert to provide for the spiritual ministrations of the district ecclesiastically connected with the rectory—the district, it may be presumed, now included in the parish of Ballinakill—and it is highly probable that the Knights discharged this obligation by employing the Franciscan friars of the local community as their vicars'. This theory is most ingenious, but there is no documentary evidence of any kind to support it; and the absence of any mention either of a commandery or a rectory of Kinaleghin in the Kilmainham register seems good reason for believing that the sale, which was thought to be complete in 1306, was never effective. All that we can say for certain is that officially, *as a House of the Order*, the Carthusian settlement in Ireland came to an end in 1321.

What happened to the monks? We cannot say; but in all probability a few of the younger ones would have been transferred to other houses of the Order, whilst the rest, doubtless too old or too infirm to make a change or to undertake so arduous a journey, would have remained on

⁴⁵ Dalton, *loc. cit.*, VI, pp. 188-9.

at Kinaleghin, until the last of them disappeared (according to Gregory XI's bull) in or about the year 1341, when the poor priory was, at last and finally, deserted, and taken over by the diocese. Sometime after 1371 and before 1400, the buildings passed into the hands of the Franciscans, and the very memory of the all too brief occupation of Kinaleghin by the Carthusian monks disappeared completely from Irish history. The withdrawal of the Carthusians was part of the general decline of English (or French) influence west of the Shannon after the shock given to the English power by Bruce's invasion of Ireland.

APPENDIX A

THE FOUNDATION CHARTER—P.R.O. E.326/8457

UNIVERSIS sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit JOHANNES de COGAN filius bone memorie Ricardi de Cogan salutem eternam in Domino./ Noverit universitas vestra me dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse deo et beate marie et sancto Johanni baptiste et omnibus sanctis et ORDINI CARTUSIE/ villam que vocatur TYRLODERAN cum pertinenciis suis et TULACHMACRUSTIN cum pertinenciis suis, salva una marca que redditur domino archiepiscopo Teuamensi/ annuatim pro redditu, et piscariam de lacu qui vocatur LOVCULLENAN et totam partem meam de lacu qui vocatur LOVDERGERTH, una cum le DERES cum/ pertinenciis suis excepto tenemento Willelmi Dundouenold quod de me tenet in feudo. Concessi eisdem tres quarteras de TOMNES excepto hoc quod retinui in/ meum dominicum sicut perambulate sunt et mensurate et divise inter CARMERRUN et meum dominicum, et aquam de MOYSCETH conducere per mediam terram dominici/ mei ad domum suam si viderint expedire fosso vel conductu, sine revocatione a me vel heredibus meis. Decetero et concessi eisdem totam partem meam quedam insule/ in villa de CLARE adiuncto curtialagio Roberti Vicarii in australi parte fratrum minorum ex opposito cum sex acris prati inter nemus de CARNAV ex occidentali parte et lacum qui/ vocatur LOVHORPS, ad faciendam et construendam domum in honore dei et beate marie et beati Johannis baptiste et omnium sanctorum in loco quem volo appellari *domus dei de cogans*. Ut sit mea et heredum meorum libera, pura et perpetua elemosina. Ut sint ibidem deo servientes monachi et conversi or/ dinis cartusie pro salute anime mea et animarum Ricardi patris mei et Basilidis matris mee et pro salute animarum marie uxoris mee et Amye/ uxoris mee et pro salute anime Ricardi de Burgo et aliorum dominorum meorum quibus teneor, et pro salute animarum omnium puerorum meorum et antecessorum et suc/ cessorum meorum et omnium amicorum secundum modum et dispositionem ordinis cartusie. HABENDAS ET TENENDAS sibi et successoribus suis in perpetuum libere, quiete, in pur/ am et perpetuam et liberam elemosinam cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus libere elemosine pertinentibus quas ego dare possum et warrantizare et quod circumferencia terminorum suorum talem habeat integritatem quod nullus preter ipsos infra terminos suos proprium habeat vel commune. Et quod pos/ sint omnes terminos suos et possessiones suas includere muro, hayo, fossato vel quocumque modo sibi viderint expedire et clausos pacifice possidere in perpe/ tuum. Et quod deforestati sint et dewarennati et liberi ab omni gravamine forestam meam vel warennam tangente. Concessi eisdem quod habeant/ pasturam ad omnia animalia sua in montanis terminis suis adiunctis ubi ego habeo pasturam. Et si quareram in montanis invenerint

vel lapides mo/lares vel marleram vel minam ferri licet eis fodere et ad domum suam libere transferre. Et quod habeant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines ordini suo/ pertinentes quas ego dare possum sicut in priore eligendo et in aliis rebus infra eorum clausuram provenientes. Sint etiam liberi a summonicionibus, attachiamentis/ namiorum capcionibus, curiis, sectis, querelis et demandis que ad me et heredes meos pertinent et omnibus causis et placitis et secularibus exaccionibus que eis et hominibus suis/ accidere possint per terram suam michi et heredibus meis pertinentibus. Sint etiam liberi et quieti a theolonio, paagio, passagio per totam terram meam et villas meas/ et de omnibus consuetudinibus et de omni questu peccunario de omnibus suis propriis. Et volo ut habeant et teneant omnes rationabiles donaciones tenentium/ meorum quas eis conferre voluerint in elemosina ita libere et quiete sicut ulla elemosina liberior et quietius teneri et haberi potest. Et licet processu temporis/ aliqua libertatum aliquo casu contingente usi non fuerint liceat eis nichilominus ea libere uti non obstante eo quod ante usi non fuerant. Ego vero JOHANNES de CO/GAN et heredes mei warrantizabimus deo et beate marie et beate Johanni baptiste et omnibus sanctis et ordini cartusie et monachis et fratribus predictis, omnia predicta, scilicet: TYRLO/DERAN cum pertinenciis, TULLACHMACRUSTIN cum pertinenciis, et piscariam de LOVCULLENAN, le DERES cum pertinenciis et piscariis, le TOMNES cum pertinenciis, et aquam/ de MOYSCETH et insulam de CLARE cum prato, contra homines et feminas defendemus de omnibus serviciis et consuetudinibus nominatis. Et ut hec mea/ donacio, concessio et confirmacio perpetue firmitatis robur optineat, presentem cartam impressione sigilli mei roboravi. Si quis autem contra hanc donacionem meam/ venire vel eam perturbare seu diminuire presumpserit, iram omnipotentis dei et meam maledictionem incurrat, quo ad condignam satisfactionem pervenerit./ HIIS TESTIBUS: Domino Johanne filio Galfridi, tunc justiciario Hibernie; Domino Mauricio filio Geraldi; Domino Radulpho de Norwiz, tunc cancellario Hibernie; Domino Johanne/ filio Thome; Domino Ricardo de Rupella; Domino Meylero de Rupe; Domino David de Rupe; et multis aliis.

ENDORSED: Datum apud *Kilnaleyhin*. Anno domini M^oCC^olx^o octavo. Anno regni regis Henrici filii Johannis regis L^o primo.

TRANSLATION

TO ALL SONS OF HOLY MOTHER CHURCH to whom the present writing may come, I, JOHN de COGAN, son of Richard de Cogan of happy memory, eternal greetings in the Lord. KNOW ALL OF YOU that I have given and granted, and by this present charter confirmed, to God, Blessed Mary, Saint John the Baptist and all the saints, and to the *Carthusian Order*, the townland which is called TYRLODERAN with its appurtenances; TULACHMACRUSTIN with its appurtenances (saving one mark rendered yearly to the archbishop of Tuam as rent); the fishing rights on the lake called LOUGH CULLENAN, and the whole part of

my part of the lake called LOUGH DERG, together with the DERRIES and its appurtenances (with the exception of the holding of William Dundonold, who holds that of me in fee). I HAVE GRANTED THEM, moreover, three quarters of TOMANY, with the exception of what I have retained as my own demesne, as perambulated, measured and bounded between CARMERRUN and my demesne. And (I grant them) (the right) to lead water from MAYSKETH to their House by a ditch or conduit through my demesne, if they find it expedient, without (right of) revocation on my part or on the part of my heirs. Further, I have granted them the whole of my part of a certain island in the townland of CLARE that adjoins the curtilage of Robert the vicar, to the south of the FRIARS MINOR opposite, with six acres of meadow between the wood of CARNAV (or Carnau) on the west and the lake called LOUGH CORRIB; to make and construct a house in honour of God, Blessed Mary, Blessed John the Baptist and all the saints, in a place which I wish to be called *Domus Dei de Cogans*; that it may be held of me and my heirs in perpetuity in pure and free alms (frankalmoin). That the servants of God, the monks and lay brothers of the Carthusian Order may be there serving God for the welfare of my soul and of the souls of Richard my father and Basilia my mother, and for the welfare of the souls of Mary my wife and Amy my wife; and for the welfare of the soul of Richard de Burgo and of my other lords whose tenant I am; and for the souls of my children, my forefathers and descendants; and of all my friends, according to the manner and custom of the Carthusian Order. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD to themselves and their successors in perpetuity freely and quietly in pure perpetual and free alms, with all the liberties and free customs appertaining to frankalmoin, which I can grant or warrant. And that the limits of their boundaries shall be so safeguarded that no one but they shall have proprietary rights or rights of common within their boundaries. And that they may enclose all their boundaries and possessions by a wall, hedge, dyke or in such manner as they may deem expedient, and possess the enclosed lands peaceably in perpetuity. And that they shall be exempted from forest and warren, and free from any burden affecting my forest or warren. I have granted them that they may have pasture for all their beasts in the hills adjoining their boundaries, where I have right of pasture. And should they find a quarry in the hills or millstones or marlpit or iron-ore, they have licence to dig for them and transport them to their house freely. And that they shall have all the liberties and free customs appertaining to their Order such as I can give them: for example, in the matter of the election of the prior and in other matters arising within their cloister. They shall also be free from all summonses, attachments, taking of pledges, suit of court, complaints and demands, so far as myself and my heirs are concerned; and from all causes and pleas (i.e. actions at law) and secular exactions (i.e. taxes etc.) affecting me and my heirs, which might happen to them or their men by reason of their land. They shall also be free and quit of

all tolls, payage and passage throughout my land and townlands, and from all customs (i.e. dues) and monetary demands in respect of all their own property. And I will that they shall have and hold all reasonable gifts from my tenants that they may wish to confer on them by way of alms, as freely and quietly as any alms can be had and held. And should they in the course of time from any cause whatsoever not have used any of the liberties, nevertheless they shall be free to use them, notwithstanding that they have not hitherto done so. WHEREFORE, I, JOHN de COGAN, and my heirs will warrant to God, Blessed Mary, Saint John the Baptist and all the saints, and to the Carthusian Order and the aforesaid monks and lay brothers, all the aforesaid, namely: TYRLODERAN and its appurtenances; TULLACHMACRUSTIN and its appurtenances; the fishery of LOUGH CULLENAN; the DERRIES and its appurtenances and fisheries; TOMANY with its appurtenances; the water of MAYSKETH and the island of CLARE with its meadow; against all men and women, and we will protect them from all the services and customs named. And that my gift, grant and confirmation may stand for ever, I have confirmed this present charter with the impression of my seal. And, moreover, should anyone in opposition to this my gift, presume to do anything or disturb or lessen it in any way, they shall incur the anger of God and my curse, until they have made appropriate satisfaction. To which the following bear witness:

John fitzGeoffrey, then justiciar of Ireland;
 Maurice fitzGerald;
 Ralph of Norwich, then chancellor of Ireland;
 John fitzThomas;
 Richard de la Rochelle;
 Miles Roche;
 David Roche, and many others.

ENDORSED: Given at *Kilnaleahin*. A.D. 1268, in the 51st year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John.

COMMENTARY ON THE PLACE NAMES IN THE CHARTER

Note: For this section, I must express my indebtedness to the Secretary of the Irish Place Names Commission, and to the Rev, Patrick Egan, C.C., of Ballinasloe.

The various lands named in the charter fall into two main groups, the one near the place of the foundation, namely Abbey; the other in the vicinity of Claregalway. In the first group we have:

1. *Tyrloderan*. Unfortunately we have not been able to trace this particular form of some place-name which has 'Tir' (land or country) as its first element. The name *Lisloderane* occurs in the *Book of Survey and Distribution for Co. Galway* (c.1666), fo.91, no.137, in the form *Lishludderane*, and can be equated with the modern *Lisdurra* or *Eagle Hill*, both close to Abbey.

2. *Tulachmacrustin* we have only found in Archdall's *Monasticon* (see p. 47). It could be equated with Tulla (*Tulach* meaning a hill or hillock) or Tully (*Book of Survey and Distribution*, fo.89/147) now Cappagh, both 2 to 3 miles south of Abbey. The name *Tullachmachrusglaynd* occurs in a fifteenth century document in connection with tithes which formed part of the 'community of the church of Clonfert' which one correspondent connects with the modern parish of Ballinakill.

3. *Lovcullenan* we cannot trace, although it is not impossible that it may refer to the small lake at Ballinlough.

4. *Lovdergerth* is Lough Derg (Ir. *Loch Dercderc*—see Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, 497b—498a).

5. *Le Deres* is undoubtedly Ir. *Doire*, an oakwood, very common in Irish place-names, and anglicised as Derry. In view of the spelling *Dorys* in the transcript referred to on p. 43, *le Deres* could be *Dooros* on Lough Derg, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles (direct) south-east of Abbey, a famous fishing centre still.

6. *Tomnes* is undoubtedly the present Tomany, of which there are three townlands in Ballinakill parish: Tomany More, Tomany Beg, and Tomanynambraher.

7. *Carmerrun* we cannot trace. It could be equated with Carrowcrin, since the Tomany country stretches along the Duniry river to Carrowcrin.

8. *Moysceth*, unfortunately, we cannot trace, though we know from the *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* (see p.43) that it was 'in Kinaleghin'.

9. *Clare* is, of course, Claregalway. The islands mentioned in the charter may be taken as the little islands in the Claregalway river which lie immediately to the south of the Franciscan convent.

10. *Carnav* or *Carnau*, as it stands, we cannot trace. '*Carnán*' means a pile of stones, and we find such names as Carnmore etc. in this area (i.e. in the neighbourhood of Claregalway).

11. *Lovhorps* is Lough Corrib—see Hogan, op. cit., 503b. (*Loch Oirbsen*).

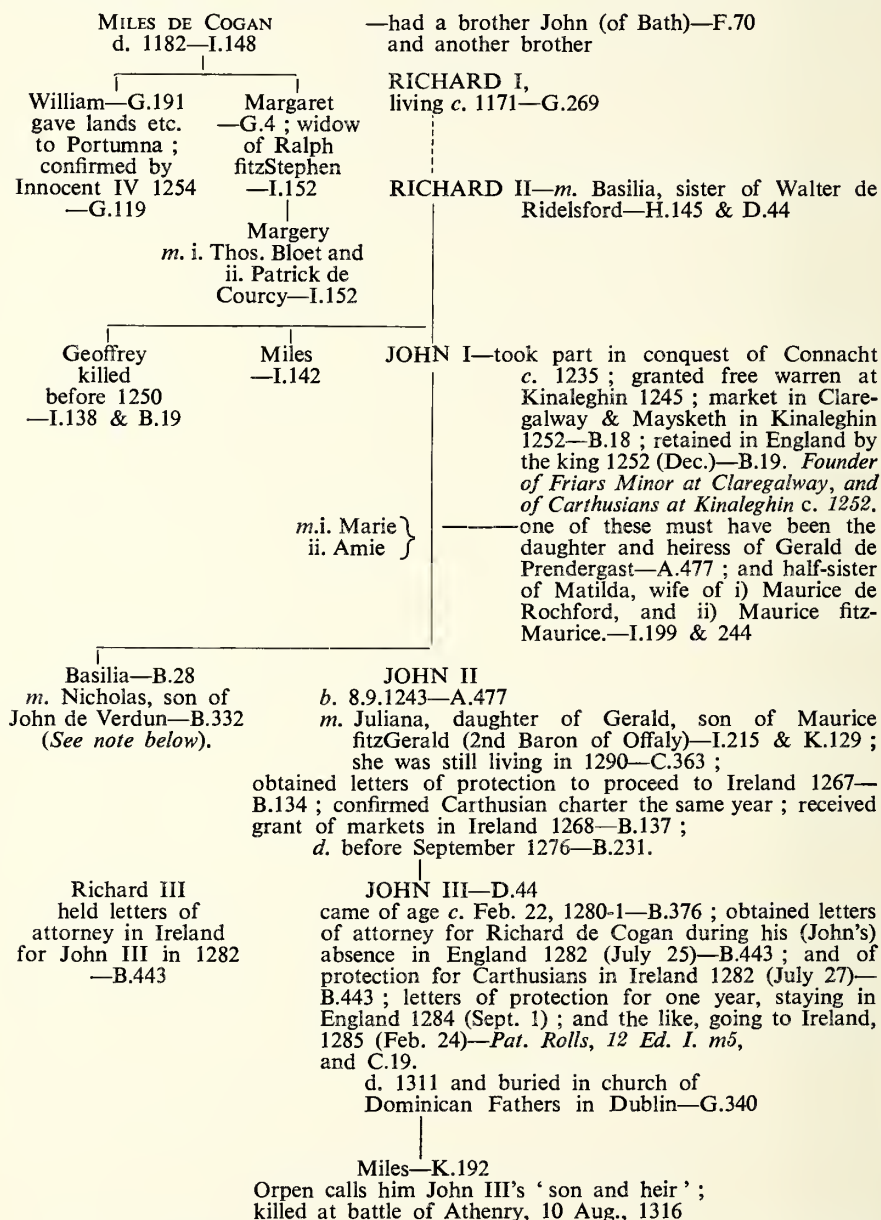
The general picture is thus of lands in the immediate vicinity of Abbey, with fishing rights on a small lake called Lough Cullenan, as well as on John de Cogan's share of Lough Derg; and other lands more vague in the neighbourhood of Claregalway. Whether it was the founder's intention that the *Domus Dei de Cogans* should be at Kinaleghin must, in the absence of further evidence, always remain uncertain. That the Charter-house was at the place we now know as Abbey is, I think, abundantly clear.

The grantor's object was clearly to make the conveyance as free from restrictions as possible; though, in this, he could not bind his superior lords, who appear to have been Richard de Burgo and the king. The only tenant who is named in the charter is William Dundonald, who held his lands of John de Cogan in fee.

APPENDIX B

THE DE COGAN FAMILY

NOTE : The letters refer to the volumes listed below ; the numbers to the *pages* in those volumes.



NOTE : Under the year 1253, B.28 refers to the heirs of Gerald de Prendergast 'born of the daughter of John de Cogan' (I)—i.e. of Basilia ; it would seem, therefore, that the line was continued in that direction.

Volumes consulted and referred to in the foregoing Tree of the de Cogans

Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, ed. Sweetman.

A. vol. 1—1171-1251 ;

B. vol. 2—1252-1284 ;

C. vol. 3—1285-1292 ;

D. vol. 4—1293-1301 ;

E. vol. 5—1302-1307.

F. Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, vol. I ;

G. ditto : vol. II ;

H. Register of St. Thomas Abbey, Dublin ;

I. Orpen : Ireland under the Normans, vol. III ;

K. ditto : vol. IV.

Other 'de Cogans' whom we cannot connect with the foregoing :

Geoffrey I, c. 1175-1180 : witnessed charter from Gilbert, archbishop of Armagh (1175-1180)—F.141.

Walter, *temp.* end of 12th century : witnessed charter of Richard de Cogan *re* Caprach—F.71.

Eustace I : witnessed grant from Geoffrey fitzOdo—H.226.

Michael, c. 1251 : held lands of Gerald de Prendergast—A.476. c. 1282 : father of 'John de Cogan'—B.427.

Patrick, c. 1280-5 : (of Cork)—B.360 and C.53.

Henry, c. 1288-1301 : letters of attorney for—C.220 and D.387. c. 1301-2 : called to arms against Scotland by the king—E.19. c. 1303 : letters of attorney for—E.93.

Gyle, c. 1290 : (she) takes out a writ of *mort d'ancestor*—C.307.

Eustace II, c. 1301 : juror at Cork—D.364.

Geoffrey II, c. 1301 : (of Cork)—D.373. c. 1301-2 : called to arms—E.19.

John, c. 1282 : 'son of Michael'—B.427. c. 1290 : petition of 'John de Cogan of Ireland'—C.306. c. 1301-2 : called to arms—E.19. c. 1302 : (of Cork)—E.37.

David, c. 1301-2 : 'son of John de Cogan'—called to arms—E.19.

APPENDIX C

(Le Couteulx: *Annales*, vol. IV, p. 531, foll.)*Agitur de Derelictione Dom. Hiberniae*

Non ex cupiditate multiplicandae gentis nostrae foundationem hanc Patres receperunt, qui eodem tempore cartusiam in Hibernia ab aliquot annis jam erectam, sed in qua nostrarum legum perfecta observatio propter loci distantiam et alias rationes periclitabatur, penitus deserere voluerunt, ut discimus ex veteri Majoris Cartusiae Cartulario. Cum enim hoc anno 'vir nobilis Ysoardus de Cou Matri Cartusiae in eleemosynam dedisset quemdam hominem ligium (prout habet Instrumentum) et talliabilem ac explectabilem ad misericordiam Domini, una cum ejusdem hominis liberis, haeredibus et universa ejus posteritate et servitio ac redditibus per ipsum hominem eidem Ysoardo debitis; rogassetque religiosum virum dominum fratrem Bernardum de S. Mauritio castellanum et Praeceptorum domus Hospitalis Sclarum, de cujus feudo erant hic homo et alia bona ejus data et concessa, ut hujusmodi donum et eleemosynam laudaret et confirmaret, ac Domum Cartusiae de praedictis investiret: annuit Bernardum Ysoardi precibus, sed visa prius licentia a Priore S. Aegidii obtenta *in gratiam venditae cartusiae Hibernicae*. Sic autem loquuntur literae confirmationis, quae et licentiae Instrumentum complectuntur: Anno Dom. MCCC sexto, Indictione quarta, sexto Idus Augusti, apud Scalas in domo superius, in castro et in domo Capituli, religiosus vir Domnus frater Bernardus de S. Mauritio castellanus et Praeceptor Domus Hospitalis Sclarum, de consensu et voluntate fratrum Conventualium dictae Domus Hospitalis et in ipsa Domo residentium, videlicet Domni fratris Petri de Cerveria militis, fratris Girardi de Cordone, F. Nicolai de Geri, F. Johannis Gorgi, F. Johannis de Fontana, F. Guigonis Mayllesi, Fr. Guigonis de Eschallone, F. Guillelmi Rat et F. Pontii Payrol, sibi lectis et diligenter intellectis omnibus supradictis (his nempe quae de Ysoardi eleemosyna agebant), visa etiam quadam litera sana et integra, sigillo venerabilis viri Dom. Prioris S. Aegidii prioratus impendenti sigillata, cujus literae tenor talis est:

Noverint universi quod nos Fr. Dragonetus de Monte Dragono humilis Prior S. Aegidii Hospitalis S. Joannis Jerusalem, de consilio Fratrum nobis assistentium, attendentes devotionem et dilectionem quam Domus et Fratres Cartusiensis Ordinis erga Domum Hospitalis longo tempore habuerunt, et *gratiam etiam Hospitali factam super venditione Domus eorundem quam habebant in Ybernia*; necnon consideratione habita ad laborem quem F. Bartholomaeus (*clericus redditus Cartusiae*) Ordinis praedicti habuit in perfectione alienationis Domus praedictae Hospitali factae: concedimus de gratia speciali eidem F. Bartholomaeo et per ipsum Domui Cartusiensi, quod ipsa Domus quocumque justo titulo Johannem . . . et ejus familiam acquirere valeat et habere cum omnibus juribus ejusdem, non obstante quod Petrus de Cou ejusdem Johannis quondam Dominus et post eum ejus haeredes, jus quod habent in dicto Johanne a dicto Hospitali immediate teneant . . . Datum Avinione die Martis post Nativitatem B. Johannis Baptistae, anno MCCC sexto.

Praedictam donationem laudat et confirmat nomine dictae Domus Hospitalis et nomine suo et successorum suorum in eadem, et de consensu et voluntate Fratrum praedictorum etc. Horum omnium testes fuerunt: F. Aymo de Augusta Prior Domus Calesii, Dom. Jacobus de Combis capellanus et curatus de Corbello, Guillemetus Senorati de Cartusia, Johannetus donatus (*dedittus cliens*) Guillelmi dicti Perdris, et alii'.

THE FRIENDS' PROVINCIAL SCHOOL, MOUNTMELLICK

By Michael Quane

I

Until the nineteenth century, the members of the Religious Society of Friends or Quakers living in and around Mountmellick formed 'the most important Quaker centre in Ireland outside Dublin'.¹ In 1656 there were only two Quaker families, who had recently come out of England, in this area.² In 1659, these two families and several who had been 'convinced thereabouts some time before' were joined by William and John Edmundson, Richard Jackson, John Thompson, William Moon, John Pim, and other Quakers, who, with their families, had migrated from County Cavan.³ According as the exile or transplantation of the Irish proceeded under the Cromwellian Act of Settlement, Quaker colonies were then developing at Moate, Ballinakill, Newgarden (Carlow), Athy, Edenderry, and elsewhere in mid-Leinster, but the group at Mountmellick advanced more successfully than any of the others, largely because of the stimulation and astute leadership of William Edmundson.⁴ The state of the central part of Ireland in 1655, a year before Edmundson first passed through it, is described by the Quaker preacher, Francis Howgill, who, on his journey to Munster, went

"into the heart of the nation, about fifty miles from Dublin, through deserts, woods and bogs, and the desolatest places that ever any did I think behold, without any inhabitant except a few Irish cabins here and there, who are robbers and murderers that lives in holes and bogs where none can pass".⁵

From this time however the appearance of the eastern and central parts of the country was being changed by the 'many thousands of English, Welch, Scots, with some Dutch that yearly Transported themselves hither to Plant, diligently applying themselves all over Ireland to Tillage, and breeding of all sorts of Cattle (with a competent proportion whereof the whole Country became in a few years indifferently well Planted; though not with a sufficient number of people to inhabit the same, which are still wanting and will be so for many years to come)'.⁶ Since the Quakers 'were comparatively well treated under the Cromwellian regime',⁷ by their thrift and industry they distinguished themselves from the outset from amongst the heterogeneous mass of newcomers seeking fortune in Ireland through the many avenues available to them and their kind under the operation of the Act of Settlement.⁸ After the restoration of Charles II, the condition of the Quakers in Ireland, in relation to the government, improved very considerably in contrast to the state of their brethren in

England and in the American colonies. Both the Earl of Orrery (Roger Boyle) and the Earl of Mountrath (Charles Coote), the two most powerful and influential members of the new ascendancy, were favourably disposed towards them,⁹ and such 'Sufferings' as they experienced in this reign were almost solely from the hands of the clergy of the established church in connection with the exaction of tithes and other ecclesiastical charges. In 1662 on the appointment of Rev. George Clapham to the vacant incumbency of Rosenallis, Protestant Episcopal services, which had been interrupted for some years were resumed in the parish. William Edmundson and Mr. Clapham were mutually antipathetic and he was relentless in distraining, imprisoning and otherwise disabling the Quaker residents in his parish.¹⁰ Under the example and inspiration of William Edmundson, Quaker opposition to tithes became widespread from that time. The year, 1662, is marked by Quakers in Ireland as that in which 'we first became a people', it also marks the development of their strenuous and sustained opposition to tithes, culminating in a decision in 1680 'that refusal to pay tithe would be a distinguishing mark of Quakers in Ireland . . . After that, any Friend known to have allowed anyone to pay tithe for him was publicly condemned and excluded from the Men's Meeting'.¹¹

The passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, enabling Quakers to hold their meetings without interference, indicated their increasing influence, deriving directly from their increasing affluence. William Edmundson took full advantage of the improved political status of the Quaker community after the accession of James II:

"In those times I was much at Dublin, applying to the Government in behalf of the Country, for the Lord had given Friends Favour with the Government, and they would hear my Complaint, and gave forth several Orders to Magistrates and Officers of the Army, to suppress Raparees, and restrain their Abuses, and they stood in awe of me, for they knew I had an Interest with the Government. I was sometimes with King James, and told him of the Calamity the Protestants were under in the Country and He would hear me quietly . . .".¹²

This familiar association with the work of Government, coupled with their known ease of access to King James during his stay in Dublin, would tend to support the commonly accepted report that the Quakers in Ireland gave him substantial aid towards his venture in this country.¹³

The temporal welfare of the Quakers here was somewhat disrupted during the short, and, for the Irish, disastrous Williamite War. Many left the country never to return, but for those who remained recovery was rapid. An offer of assistance from the Quaker Meeting for Sufferings in London was declined by the Half-Yearly Meeting of Quakers here in 1689. A similar offer in 1692 was accepted but the London Meeting was 'withal desired that a full stop be put to their sending any more'. On the termination of the war 'there suddenly succeeded [for the Quakers in Ireland] a time of great plenty after a wonderful manner, beyond what

could be expected; and stock and trade increased mightily, and the time of getting great riches came on, as the time of great losses had been experienced before, and many too eagerly pursued them; and too many of our Society were concerned therein, which has proved very injurious upon several accounts, and especially to Friends Children, who perceiving their parents Fullness, and relying thereupon, grow conceited and sinical, many of them giving way to Idleness¹⁴

Joseph Pike, whose father 'came over to Ireland a Corporal in a Troop of Horse in Cromwell's Army', recorded before his death in 1729 a more specific account of the alteration in the condition of the Quakers in Ireland in the closing years of the reign of Charles II and after the defeat of his brother James at the Boyne. He wrote

"about this time (i.e. 1692) and indeed for several years before, . . . William Edmundson, with other faithful elders, had a deep concern and travail of soul for a general reformation in many things that were amiss amongst Friends; not only relating to disorderly conversation but also to the incumbrance of the world, and too eagerly pursuing it, likewise as to the superfluity of apparel and household furniture, with other things that were fast creeping upon us . . . Most of our wives . . . at that time wore silk clothing, though of a pretty plain colour, and other costly apparel . . . And with sorrow I speak the same of some men Friends, both by their vain fashionable apparel and excessively fine and superfluous household furniture . . . We were further advised to be plain in our . . . speech . . . and to avoid extremes in the multiplicity of business . . . also against a multiplicity of words in bargaining . . . and against lightness or airiness in gestures, postures, or otherwise. Solid deportment in conversation, at home and abroad, were likewise recommended . . . Our fine veneered and garnished cases of drawers, tables, stands, cabinets, scrutoires, etc., we put away, or exchanged for decent plain ones of solid wood, without superfluous garnishing or ornamental work; our wainscots or woodwork we had painted one plain colour; our large mouldings or finishings of pannelling, etc., our swelling chimney-pieces, curiously twisted banisters, we took down, and replaced with useful plain woodwork etc., our curtains, with valances, drapery, and fringes that we thought too fine, we put away or cut off; our large looking-glasses with decorated frames, we sold or made into smaller ones; and our closets that were laid out with very many little curious or nice things were done away with."¹⁵

According to a later Quaker historian, these reforms were 'the beginnings of that rigidity of discipline and enforcement of minute regulations which mark Irish Quakerism. Plainness in speech, behaviour and apparel was to be the watchword of the inner circle of Friends for one hundred and fifty years after this date; indeed until this inner circle was almost all that was left.'¹⁶ In this connection it is necessary to note that Joseph Pike recorded that the efforts made in the closing years of the seventeenth century towards the enforcement of simplicity in the way of life of the Quaker community in Ireland met with opposition and stiffness; and that

William Edmundson, in a postscript to an exhortation (of which 2,000 copies were printed for distribution) adopted at the Leinster Province Meeting at Castledermot on 9th, 10th and 11th days of the 7th month 1698, again deprecated 'the striving as our numbers increased to be great in Riches and Possessions of this World; and then great fair buildings in City and Country, fine and fashionable Furniture, and Apparel equivalent, with dainty and voluptuous Provision, with rich matches in Marriage, with excessive, customary, uncomely smoaking of Tobacco . . .'¹⁷ In the following year, 1699, forty-six years after the first Quaker adventured into Ireland, in the hope that shop-keeping would be more profitable here than in his wife's native Derbyshire, the extent of his wordly success and of those who came after him is indicated by the admonition which it was considered desirable to issue from the Half-Yearly Meeting of that year:

"Let your moderation appear to all men in the plainness of your dress or apparel, not in costly attire, foolish dresses and new fashions, ruffling perriwigs, needless buttons, wide skirts, and big flapped-sleeved coats which appear to answer the fashion rather than for service. And that Friends keep up their former testimony against striped or flowered stuffs and refrain from decking or adorning their rooms with needless things, and their kitchens with flourishing needless pewter and brass . . ."¹⁸

It would appear however that observance of the foregoing injunctions was not sustained by some, at least, of those at whom they were directed; one hundred years later the distinguished American Quaker, William Savery, who, continuing a tour of Great Britain, France and Germany, arrived at Donaghadee on 4 January, 1798 and left Waterford on the 12th, having included Lisburn, Dublin, Mountmellick, Limerick, Cork and Clonmel and other Quaker centres in his itinerary. He visited a Friend's house near Clonmel which was 'a very sumptuous establishment indeed, which I did not omit to tell him was quite too much so'. He noted in his Journal that 'Friends in Ireland seem to live like princes of the earth, more than in any country I have seen—their gardens, horses, carriages, and various conveniences, with the abundance of their tables appeared to me to call for much more gratitude and humility, than in some instances, it is to be feared, is the case'.¹⁹

II

In 1777 the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends held in London had under consideration the inadequacy of the existing provision for the education of Quaker children in England, and made urgent recommendation as follows:

"It being the judgment of this Yearly Meeting that encouragement for Boarding Schools suitable for the education of children whose parents are not in affluence will be advantageous, the consideration of a plan proper to this purpose is referred to the Meeting for Sufferings, to be laid before

the Meeting next year, to which Friends in the country are desired to give their attention and assistance."²⁰

As a result of these proceedings, a disused Foundling Hospital at Ackworth in Yorkshire, with about 84 acres of land, were acquired for £7,000 and adapted for use as a boarding school for 'the guarded and religious education' of 300 Quaker boys and girls, the children of Friends 'not in affluence'. The terms were £8 8s. a year for board, clothing and education. Schoolwork continued the whole year round, uninterrupted by vacations. Children from all over England were sent to Ackworth, and the plan was so successful that the New England Quakers set up a like foundation at Portsmouth, Rhode Island in 1784.²¹ The idea of a similar school for Ireland was considered at the Six Weeks' Men's Meeting of Leinster Province held at Moate on the 14th of the 8th month 1784.²² At that Meeting two representatives each from the Monthly Meetings of Carlow, Dublin, Edenderry, Moate, Mountmellick, Wexford, Wicklow 'and others choosing to attend' who had been appointed as a committee 'to deliberate on the most suitable means of supplying the deficiency which appears in some places with respect to the education of Friends in low circumstances' brought in the following report:

"We are of opinion that the Monthly Meeting wherein such children are likely to suffer for want of proper education should provide suitable places for boarding them convenient to Friends' Schools without unnecessary delay, and as this Committee is apprehensive that sundry inconveniences may attend the placing of children in different families, particularly while their time is employed at school, we submit to the consideration of the Meeting whether it might not be expedient that a

Provincial School

should be instituted for the Education of Children of Friends in low circumstances, and that a committee be appointed to digest a proper plan for this purpose".

The foregoing report was accepted, and the representative committee which had sponsored it was desired 'to digest an appropriate plan and lay it before the next Quarterly Meeting for Leinster Province'. This Meeting was held at Edenderry on 25th 9mo. 1784, when a further submission on the major question of cost was made and accepted, as follows:

"We your Committee appointed by last Province Meeting are of opinion that no less than five thousand pounds or £300 annually will suffice to establish and maintain the School proposed, so as to provide for the accommodation maintenance and clothing of 20 boys and 20 girls in aid of a certain sum to be paid yearly for each.

Previous to our entering into the consideration of any plan of economy for the conducting the same we propose that each Monthly Meeting set on foot a subscription that from a consideration of the grounds to go upon we may digest a plan accordingly for the regulating such Institution. N.B. We suppose that the sum of £500 will be necessary to fix up a house with proper accommodations for the purpose".

A further meeting of the Committee of representatives of the Monthly Meetings was held in Dublin on 5th 11mo. 1784 at which a detailed scheme²³ on the following lines was prepared:—

‘An Estimate

of the expense of a School proposed to be established in the Province of Leinster for the maintenance, clothing and education of the children of Friends in low circumstances in said Province.

i. It is apprehended that 40 children, 20 of each sex, may be dieted at some suitable place in the country at £5.4/-p.annum each for	£208
ii. Clothing with plain suitable raiment at £2p.a.each	80
iii. Rent for a convenient House and Offices, Salary of Superintendents and Servants, and for diet and for washing for the same	221
iv. Firing Soap and Candles	42.5/-
v. Books, Paper, etc.,	10
	<hr/> 561.5/-

It is proposed that the sum of £5 annually be paid for each by the Parents or Monthly Meeting under whose care they may be viz., 40 children at £5	200
	<hr/> 361.5/-

It is intended that they be carefully instructed in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, also in the Principles of Truth as professed by us the People called Quakers, and that suitable seasons for retirement and reading of the Scriptures be established in said School.

It is proposed that said School shall be under the direction and control of the Province Meeting, that a Committee, consisting of a Friend or more of each Monthly Meeting be appointed to inspect said School, and make report of the conducting thereof to each Quarterly Meeting, also lay before said Meeting a state of the fund once in the year.

It is proposed also that no children under the age of ten years be taken into the School, and that their continuance there do not exceed four years.

It is also proposed that, as every institution of this kind may be subject to alterations and regulations, the Province Meeting be empowered to make such as appear necessary for the improvement, enlargement and permanent establishment thereof.’

It will be noted that the cost of feeding each child was estimated at 2/- a week. With regard to clothing, the Committee assumed that a girl might

be clad for 'the same or less than a boy'. Careful estimate of the cost of a boy's clothes was based on these figures:—

" Coat and Vest	3yds. of $\frac{3}{4}$ wide cloth at 2/-p.yd.	6.-
	2yds. druggat for lining & 1yd. linen trimmings	2.-
	horn buttons	1.-
Breeches	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds. shag at 1/10	2.9
	linen and trimmings	1.-
	For making the suit	2.2
		<hr/>
4 Shirts	10yds. linen at 10p.	14.11
	Making the same at 6d.p.	8.4
A Hat 1/4, 4pair	Stocking 6/-, 2pair Shoes 6/6	2.-
		13.10
		<hr/>
		£1.19.1."

The sum of £221 at (iii) above included a figure of £91 to cover salaries and wages of a staff of seven, viz.,

Salary to a Friend and his wife as housekeepers	£40
" " a Schoolmaster	25
" " a Schoolmistress	15
Wages of two servant girls at £3p.a.each	6
" " a servant boy	5
Dieting and washing for each of the staff at £10each on average	£70
'Rent for a convenient house and gardens with a few acres for cows, potatoes'	£60.

The sum of £42.5/- at (iv) included three items viz.,

Soap: 7 cwts @ £2 a cwt., Candles: 30doz @ 5/6 a doz., and
Fuel: 800 Kishes of Turf @ 50/- each 100.

The various Monthly Meetings concerned readily declared their 'sentiment with the recommendation of the Quarterly Meeting with respect to the great advantage and utility of such an institution', and whereas the estimate of the total annual contributions required from them was £361.5/-; this sum was substantially exceeded, the amount of the annual subscriptions promised by each Meeting being

Moate	£20.13.9	Wexford	£17.13. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mountmellick	37. 4.9	Wicklow	6. - . -
Edenderry	57.17.4	Dublin	203.14. 9
Carlow	50. - . -		
<hr/>			
£393. 3.11 $\frac{1}{2}$			

It was apparently left to the original composite representative Committee to proceed with the arrangements for the establishment of the School. The decision to locate it at Mountmellick may have been influenced in consideration of the recommendations of Jonathan Pim, John Helton, John Gatchell and Mungo Bewley who advised early in 1785 that 'a house and concerns in that town offered by George Shannon at £50 a year could

'with some alterations be made commodious for this institution'. The offer was accepted, and the necessary steps were taken towards fitting the premises for use as a residential school. The financial business of the new venture had been entrusted to an influential group of Trustees including:

Moate	Anthony Robinson and Joseph Robinson
Mountmellick	Mungo Bewley and Moses Pim Jr.
Edenderry	John Boardman and Isaac Jackson Jr.
Carlow	James Lecky and Abraham Shackleton
Wexford	Samuel Woodcock and Samuel Elly
Wicklow	James Pim and John Ashton
Dublin	John Dawson, Robert Clibborn Jr., William Taylor and Joshua Edmundson

Towards the end of 1785 the premises being 'nearly ready for the reception of children', general regulations for the School which had been drafted by a sub-committee, and a dietary 'drawn up by Mountmellick Friends' were adopted by the Committee, as follows:

'General Plan for regulating the Family.

The children are to rise at six in Summer and seven in Winter, and as soon as may be appear in their respective school-rooms washed and combed—a portion of the Scriptures is then to be read aloud. Breakfast at eight in separate apartments. Dine at one. Sup at seven. Go to bed at eight in winter, nine in summer.

At all their meals the Governors are to impress a due observation of Sobriety and Decorum; they not beginning to eat nor rising from table till after a suitable pause—the Master and Mistress at the respective tables give a signal for the purpose.

They go to school at such hours and are employed there in such matters as shall hereafter be concluded on.

The Superintendents and Teachers take their meals together.

The boys and girls are to be appointed, as many as convenient and necessary, in rotation to do the work of the house, and to be employed in such matters as may be suitable objects of instruction to servants according to the discretion of the Superintendents—and it is expected that they will have time between these employments to do their business in the School.

Before they go to bed they are to be convened and washed and a portion of the Scriptures read.

On meeting days they are to be shifted with clean linen and walk to and from meeting in one order according to their rank in proficiency.

On First Days [i.e. Sundays] they are not allowed to play. The Masters and Mistresses calling them together at suitable times on that day to read the Bible or some of the writings of our Friends—in the evening there may be a season of retirement and after reading (as usual) they go orderly to bed.'

Plan of Regulations for School Hours.

Boys.

hours

- VI Rise in Summer } In $\frac{1}{2}$ hour Roll called in School. Master reads
 VII „ „ Winter } from the Bible aloud, boys all standing. Spell
 from Pennsylvania Spelling Book. Read till
 VIII Breakfast—going from the school-room to their meals in good
 order
 IX—to School. Roll called. Writing, Catechism, Arithmetick till
 I Dinner—exercise till
 III called to School. Superintendent hears them in Catechism.
 IV { Master teaches them Arithmetick,—examines the work of the day
 to { in their copies and ciphering books—and gives such punishment
 VII { for faults committed in the course of the day as his sober
 judgment determines adequate thereto—not forgetting to commend
 the deserving.

Girls.

- VI Rise in Summer } Every two to make their own bed. Roll called
 VII „ „ Winter } in an hour or less. Mistress reads, the girls all
 standing. The girls appointed for each week then go to sweep out
 the rooms. The rest spell till
 VIII Breakfast—In $\frac{1}{2}$ hour go to school. Master sets them to write their
 copies and stays with them till IX.—When they have finished their
 copies, Knitting, Sewing, Spinning, etc., till
 XII they use relaxation till
 I Dine.—Mistress after dinner walks them into the garden in dry
 weather, at which time she has an opportunity of teaching them
 to avoid unbecoming awkward gestures.
 II to School—Master teaching them Arithmetick till IV—then relax
 for an hour
 V Mistress instructs them in Reading, Spelling, Catechism, etc., the
 remainder of the evening, and examines their work of the day.

Supplementary 'Orders for the Schoolmaster' required

- i. That he was to transcribe the Minutes of the Meetings of the School Committee in a fair hand, and to keep the Accounts Book correct and as free from blots and erasements as possible.
- ii. Between evening school and supper to have the boys instructed in mending their stockings.
- iii. At suitable times he is to walk with them in the fields for the benefit of the air, twice in the week when the weather permits.
- iv. Four boys if necessary to be appointed for a week at a time to be employed in doing the work of the house, as cleaning knives, shoes,

etc., attending table and the cattle and working and weeding the garden.

- v. If the boys stand in need of particular correction it is to be performed in the presence of the Superintendent.

The 'Orders for the Schoolmistress' required

- i. That on rising, every two girls were to make their own beds, and she was to see that the girls were washed and decently dressed without loss of time, that they assisted in combing each others' heads, and that they be neat and clean in their apparel.
- ii. Four girls if necessary to be appointed for a week at a time for making the boys' beds, etc., and to be employed in the kitchen, in waiting at table, and such other domestic business as may qualify them for useful servants.
- iii. She is at convenient times to instruct the boys in dearning.
- iv. The girls appointed for the week to brush out the rooms, down the stairs, and brush and sweep the hall before breakfast.

Plan of Economy for the Table.^{24.a.}

For Breakfast and Supper: , either

Bread and Milk,
Potatoes and Milk,
Flummery and Milk,
Stirabout and Milk, or
Bread and Milk Pottage,

to be left to the discretion of the Mistress of the House according to the different Seasons of the Year.

For Dinner :

1st day's dinner—Bread and Broth in Winter, and Bread Potatoes and Cheese in Summer and Beer.

2nd day's do. —Boil'd or roast Meat and Vegetables for one Table, and Pudding or Suet Dumpling for the other, and Beer.

3rd day's do. —The same as yesterday, but vice versa, and Beer.

4th day's do. —Potatoes and either Milk or Butter for both Tables.

5th day's do. —Meat and Vegetables for both Tables in Winter, and Puddings in Summer, and Beer.

6th day's do. —Potatoes and Milk or Butter for both Tables.

7th day's do. —Scraps made out with griskins and the Broth reserved for 1st day, and Beer.

The Governor and Governess to have for their tables a joint of meat every day for dinner.

Clothing.

At a meeting of the Committee held at Edenderry on 8th 10m. 1785, the following list of clothes was concluded on to be brought by each

Mountmellick	John Helton, John Gatchell, Mark Goodbody, Jonathan Pim, William Gatchell, Mungo Bewley, Moses Pim Jr., Nathan Peet, Joseph Walpole Jr., George Walpole, Ebenezer Dudlry,
Edenderry	Joseph Truman, John Boardmore, William Hoowe, Abraham Neale, Isaac Jackson Jr.
Carlow	Samuel Haughton, John Watson, James Lecky, John Lecky, William Duckett, Richard Shackleton, Abraham Shackleton, Thomas Chandlee, Joseph Malone.
Wexford	Joseph Poole, Jacob Goff, Samuel Woodcock, Samuel Elly.
Wicklow	Joseph Pim, John Thomas, John Ashton.
Dublin	Joseph Williams, Thomas Bewley, John Dawson, John Smithson, Thomas Fayle of Thomas Street, Isaac Simms, John Robinson of Bride Street, Samuel Russell.

With the appointment of this large Committee consisting of men only, it was 'apprehended that the success of this Institution might be considerably furthered by Women Friends taking on their share of the care and government of it, especially wherein the youth of their own sex is concerned', and the Friends of Mountmellick were accordingly desired to 'endeavour to prevail on some of their women to give up their names as a local committee'. A similar request was made to the Quarterly and Women's Meetings with the result that a Sub-Committee of thirty-three Women Friends was formed in connection with the School: as follows:

Moate	Dinah Russell, Hannah Chanders, Hannah Robinson, Elizabeth Russell.
Mountmellick	Experience Pim, Sarah Pim, Jane Walpole (Robt.), Mary Bewley, Sarah Beale, Anne Paisley, Elizabeth Jackson, Elizabeth Goodbody.
Edenderry	Ruth Inman, Elizabeth Manliff, Biddy Jackson, Jane Watson.
Carlow	Hannah Duckett, Elizabeth Shackleton, Lydia Shackleton, Sarah Watson, Jane Haughton.
Wexford	Elizabeth Goff, Hannah Hudson, Dorothy Chamberlain, Ann Elly, Sarah Poole.
Wicklow	Susanna Penrose, Susanna Pim, Eleanor Thomas.
Dublin	Ann Forbes, Elizabeth Pike, Elizabeth Dawson, Jane Sandwith.

Early in 1785, Jacob Martin and his wife, having offered themselves as Superintendents of the School, 'were approved of and being treated with agreed to the terms viz. £40 p.annum with diet, washing and lodging for them and their four children, whom this committee consents to be educated free of expense'. Towards the end of 1785, Deborah Butler of Mountmellick offered herself as teacher of the girls of the school, and her services were accepted. As no one was forthcoming to undertake the

teaching of the boys, John Dawson and Abraham Shackleton, members of the Standing Committee, were desired 'to correspond with Friends in other Provinces to circulate the necessary inquiry therefor'.

The School was opened for girls only on the 30th of First Month 1786, when, as noted in the minutes 'Deborah Butler commenced teaching mistress'. Boys were taken at the School three months later, as a minute of the Meeting of the Standing Committee held in Dublin on 11 5m.1786 records that

"Mountmellick Friends return account that they have agreed with John Taylor to teach the children writing, spelling, etc., at 10 guineas p. ann. for the present commencing from 1st 4mo. last until a master is provided, he laying out from 2 to 4 hours in that business every day, and as it is apprehended that a few boys may now be admitted, each Monthly Meeting has liberty to send two lads to the School."

At a meeting of the Standing Committee of men held at Mountmellick on 24 3m.1786, it was decided that of the nineteen Mountmellick Friends on the School Committees (including the Women's Sub-committee) 'two of each sex should visit the School every week in rotation' and, in due course, this direction was incorporated in a set of

Rules for the Local Committee

- i. The oversight of the House is committed to the care of sixteen Friends of the Particular Meeting of Mountmellick, eight of each sex; four men and three women form a committee or three men at the least.
- ii. They are to meet every four weeks at the House on a second day afternoon at half past six o'clock and none are to depart from the committee without leave.
- iii. All Bills drawn on the Treasurer to be signed by the three men Friends of this committee or by two at the least.
- iv. Two men and two women Friends are to visit the House once or oftener in the week to inquire into the children's improvement in learning and behaviour, inspect the provisions, audit the accounts . . . and present a written report to the Committee at their next sitting of anything worthy of remark that may occur at the visit.
- v. The accounts of the House to be kept in double entry.
- vi. They are to see as much as may be that proper work be provided for the children, the girls especially to be exercised in such domestic employments as may qualify them for useful servants.

The practice of accepting from outsiders orders for sewing to be done by the girls of the School was early introduced. The School Committee decided, at a meeting on 9 8m. 1786 'that the money earned by the children for needlework taken in at the School shall be laid out to purchase books for the Girls, under the direction of Women Friends, which shall be given as premiums to the deserving',^{24.b.} A few months after her appointment as 'teaching mistress', Deborah Butler was obliged 'to give

up owing to indisposition in her father's house'. Anne Paisley, a local member of the Sub-committee of ladies, volunteered to act in her stead till the vacancy was filled,^{24.c.} as from 4 11m. 1786, by the appointment of Elizabeth Smith, a Friend of Edenderry, to the post.

At a meeting of the Standing Committee held at the School on 23 2m. 1787

'It being reported that William Leadbeater a young man who has appeared for some time under convincement finds his mind drawn to offer himself as a Teaching Master, a few Friends were appointed to confer with him and inquire into his Motives and Qualifications, who reported that they apprehended it safe to make trial of him, the Terms proposed being agreeable to him, this Committee accedes to the Report which Mountmellick Friends are desired to let him know.'

A minute of a subsequent meeting recorded that 'William Leadbeater commenced as Teaching Master on 1 3m. 1787 at £25 p.a. and he appears well qualified.²⁵ The minutes of the meeting of the Standing Committee held on 23 6m. 1788 noted that a member 'Richard Shackleton informed the meeting that two Friends of another Province having visited the School and being struck with the propriety of the Institution and the orderly conducting of it, have desired to contribute their aid to the support of it, and have generously offered the sum of £30 thereto, desiring their names may be concealed'.²⁶

During the whole period of its existence, the School was free from outbreaks of serious illness except in the years 1789 and 1794.²⁷ In the former year, Dr Michael Jacob of Mountmellick attended some of the children threatened with small pox. He was not a Quaker and he declined a fee, but he was asked to accept ten guineas 'on which condition Friends will be more free to ask his assistance in future'.

In the summer of 1789, Jacob Martin intimated his desire to leave the School with his family. At a meeting of the School Committee in Carlow early in 1790, Mary Pim, who had offered to 'fill the female department of superintendence' was appointed at £20 a year, and William Gatchell was appointed superintendent at £30 a year. At about the same time he assigned his interest in a 'commodious house' in Mountmellick to the Committee for a sum of £420 plus a yearly rent of £30. The School was transferred to these new quarters without delay, and furthermore about twenty acres of 'passably good land' at Ballycullenbeg was leased for use as a school farm from John Warburton at thirty shillings an acre. At the end of the year (1790) William Leadbeater's notice of his intention to vacate the post of teaching master was received by the Committee 'with some concern'. However on his departure just before his marriage to Mary Shackleton, William Gatchell undertook 'without injury to his health, the whole charge of superintendence with teaching, with the assistance of a suitable servant and the lad who is apprenticed to the School in the farm and garden'. After a few months he informed the Committee that he found the servant unnecessary and he was discharged.

On the opening of the School in the house rented from George Shannon, Mountmellick Friends had furnished the sleeping quarters with straw mattresses. These were now 'so broken as to render lodging uncomfortable'. It was arranged after the transfer of the School to the house acquired from the new superintendent that 'light feather beds laid flat over straw palliasses and both to be kept in good order would be a suitable accommodation and amendment'. A delay in making this change was attributed to 'the season being hitherto unfavourable to the laying in of feathers'. In accordance with the current practice in residential schools, the children slept two-in-a-bed.

The first of a complete series of reports, printed annually, on the Provincial School covered the three-year period ended 1 Sm.1790. Up to that date 44 boys and 39 girls had been admitted, of whom 23 boys and 25 girls had returned home or been put to places as apprentices or servants. There were 36 children in the School in 1787, 34 in 1788 and 39 in 1789. At the date of the report there were 21 boys and 14 girls on the roll. The total subscriptions from the Monthly Meetings in each of these years were:

1787	£398	1788	£412	1789	£396
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and, in addition, a total sum of £545 was paid by the Meetings concerned in respect of Bills of Admission or Renewal for the 109 children sent by them to the School at the prescribed rate of £5 each.

A report on the School presented to a three-day meeting of the Committee held at Mountmellick in 1791 read:

"Friends examined the proficiency of the lads and lasses apart and are gratified to learn of their good conduct and submission to their superiors, also to find them improved in many respects and accomplished in such learning and useful arts as are befitting their sexes, and promise to be of advantage to them in future life."

Information is lacking as to the text books used in the School in the early years. The Pennsylvania Spelling Book was prescribed in the regulations originally drafted, but in 1791 it is recorded that 250 copies of 'a new edition of Anthony Benezet's Spelling Book' were ordered; in 1795 it was 'apprehended that books of moral miscellany' might suitably be used as reading books in addition to the Scriptures, and 50 copies of *Extracts and Original Anecdotes* were acquired. At the same time *Walker's Geography* was obtained for the School; this work was fuller than the geographical summary appended to John Gough's Reader (This latter work, compiled before the Union, emphasised that 'Ireland is a kingdom distinct from and independent of Great Britain, though governed by the same king'). In 1799 Lindley Murray's *Reader* was accepted by the Committee as 'a good reading book such as might safely be introduced into the School. John Gough's *Arithmetic* was then in use in the School, but Deighan's²⁸ work on this subject was adopted later.

In 1793 the School Committee sanctioned the purchase of several 'Suitable Books to lie at the School for the use of the Children'. Though

these selected works were all by Quaker writers, they formed the nucleus of a collection which was afterwards expanded to include standard works in popular use and works of reference. In this respect, the Provincial School at Mountmellick was in advance of the general run of schools in Ireland at this period. As late as 1838 the existence of a school library at one centre—Midleton—was sufficiently noteworthy as to obtain special mention in the Report on Foundation Schools in Ireland by the Thomas Wyse Committee set up in 1835.^{29.a} Further attention to the question of books was given by the Mountmellick School Committee in 1793, when it was decided that in addition to a Bible, each child on leaving the School should be presented with the following works bound in two volumes:

Advice to Servants	Hanson's Captivity
Penn's Advice to his Children	Francis Howgill's Advice to his
John Crooke's Advice to his	Daughter
Children and Grandchildren	Phipp's Advice to the Youth of
Summary of Friends' Principles	Norwich Meeting
	Penn's Maxims

At a meeting of the School Committee at Enniscorthy on 28 6m.1794 it was intimated that Mary Pim, superintendent and housekeeper, was about to leave, but that Elizabeth Smith was willing to combine her post of schoolmistress with that of housekeeper.^{29.b} In the following year her rate of remuneration was increased to £30 p.a., 'she having filled the two departments under her care agreeably'. In that year there were 50 children in the School,

The report presented to the School Committee on the results of the work done during the school-year 1793-4 reads

"Some Friends being appointed to examine the children's proficiency . . . found several of the boys expert at figures and considerable pains taken to improve them in reading and spelling; that on examining the girls in reading, spelling, ciphering, and needlework, satisfaction was received—a particular attention to the boys' writing has been recommended."

The routine of the School was set out in a special educational report in 1796. The three-class arrangement (First, Second and Third) mentioned therein was a feature of the School which was continued during its whole existence:—

"The children are divided into three classes: the first comprise the best readers, the second the next best readers, and the third those beginning to read; each class is of both sexes; a lesson is read to every class; and to prevent any idea of one sex being preferred to another for instruction, the males read first one day, and the females first the next day, and so alternately—the different sexes, though of the same class, do not read together, but each in succession by themselves, and by this arrangement the worst readers have sufficient opportunity, if they will make use of it, to get the lesson whilst the rest are reading, and be thereby the sooner

ready to go to write and cipher. The getting arithmetical tables and notes, repeating and having them explained, getting their spelling lesson again next morning and examining the business of the day, occupies the remainder of the fore and afternoon. Spelling individually is the first daily business of the school; those who think they have it best come up and are heard first, without distinction of age or sex; the words each misses are marked in their spelling books, and a register of them kept to prevent erasures, and on Seventh-day evening, before they are allowed to play, they must spell off all the words missed through the week, or be debarred from play for that evening. The children of both sexes spell in one general class on Fourth and Seventh days."

The Philadelphian Quaker, William Savery, in his tour of Ireland in 1798 "Visited the Provincial School for the province of Leinster, consisting of about fifty scholars, healthy and very decent; we had a tendering time with them and their tutors; and also visited the boarding school for girls,³⁰ wherein they were much broken into tears. The town of Mountmellick is not large, consisting of only one street about half a mile long.

After tea, finding a freedom to propose a meeting of the scholars of both the schools, and the children of Friends in town . . . We met in the Provincial School, about one hundred children in all,³¹ their master, mistresses, and thirty or forty other Friends. My mind which had been so exercised all day, presently after sitting down, felt sweetly opened to them; they were soon broken into tears, and a more precious opportunity I never remember with children. They took leave of us in tears, and I felt much refreshed and comforted . . ."³²

Thirteen years after the foundation of Mountmellick Provincial School for the instruction of the children of Friends 'in low circumstances'. it became evident that a basic change in the character of the institution was impending, as at a meeting of the local Committee on 30 3m.1799 it was decided to submit for consideration at the next general meeting of the School Committee 'the expediency of removing any impediments that may appear to stand in the way for children being admitted into the School whose parents are in easy circumstances, and may be thought of ability to send them to a more expensive school'. When this question came before the General Meeting on 29-31 7m.1800, the School had its full complement of 50 children, and the Committee decided that there was not 'at present a necessity to open the door' for the admission of children of Friends in easy circumstances.

With regard to the work of the school-year 1800-1801, women Friends reported that the girls

"in their spelling have given general satisfaction; they seem pretty ready in arithmetic, in some of them proficiency appears in writing but their reading does not seem so agreeable—and some of their needlework appears well done.

It appears that the boys have given satisfaction: in spelling, writing and arithmetic proficiency is observable—their reading though pretty accurate

was generally in a tone of voice not agreeable. The farm has been inspected and found in good order and the crops promising to be productive.”³³

At a meeting of the School Committee in Carlow on 24 12m.1803 it was noted that there were then 22 vacancies in the School, that there were no children awaiting admission, and that four children were about to be withdrawn. In 1804 when the number of children in the School had declined to 24 (15 boys and 9 girls) the Committee adopted the view that “Monthly Meetings might be left at greater liberty than formerly of returning the children of Friends in more easy circumstances than those for whom the School was originally designed, always giving the latter description a decided preference, it being found that there has not been a sufficient number of such to keep the School full.”

William Gatchell resigned his appointment at the School early in 1803, and in 1804 John Mayne and his son John came from England to fill the posts of superintendent and schoolmaster respectively at salaries amounting to £100, and the concession that Elizabeth Mayne, wife of John Sr., was to be ‘dietet, washed for and lodged in the house’. The Maynes stayed for less than a year, and as from 4 4m.1805, William Clendenan, who had previously served temporarily as a teacher in the School, was appointed superintendent. In the next year, Susanna Doyle held the post of schoolmistress. There were then 16 boys and 2 girls in the School. Alexander Wilson, who held the post of schoolmaster, was succeeded in 1807 by John Barnes, who was given £80 a year without board or lodging. He was followed by a new master, Francis Wills, who was paid at the rate of £100 a year, and was permitted to have his own children and a nephew in the School as day pupils. Rachel Saul of Waterford came as schoolmistress in 1810 at £20 p.a. in succession to Susanna Doyle.

As there were only 16 boys and 7 girls in the School in 1806, the Committee reverted to the suggestion made in 1804 that a less rigorous means test should be applied in connection with admissions to the School, and now proposed that the School should receive ‘children of all Friends in the Province, relying on the hope that Friends in easy or affluent circumstances will not let the funds of the institution suffer by the admission of their children—and Monthly Meetings are desired to see that this hope be not disappointed’. This proposal was adopted in 1810. The extension of the facilities of the School to all Quaker children in Leinster province resulted almost immediately in an increased enrolment. There were 43 children in the house by the end of 1811, and it seemed likely that the accommodation might become inadequate. The fact that the type of pupil had changed may have necessitated the instruction to the superintendent to have the boys’ stockings sent out for mending so as to afford the girls ‘all the opportunity that can be for their improvement in useful learning’. By the end of 1812 there were several pupils ‘whose

parents gave expectation of paying the whole expense, and others according to their ability and conscience'. About this time the School Committee considered 'the desirability of arrangements for keeping the male and female children more separate where necessary—which is an object of concern more requisite in proportion to the enlargement of the number of scholars'.³⁴ There was then ample accommodation for 60 children in the School—by the end of 1813 there were 59 on roll, and it was noted that 'several were likely to be sent'. With regard to some of the new entrants however, the superintendent felt obliged to

"intimate to the Committee that he thinks greater simplicity might be kept in clothing the boys who may be sent to the School,—and understanding that some boys have been sent in whose clothing necessarily required alterations, in order to preserve that consistency of appearance so desirable in a School immediately under the care of the Society—and the subject having obtained consideration here, it is pressingly and tenderly recommended to Friends who have the care of children to be careful in this respect, being persuaded that the seeds of vanity thus early sown in the minds of dear youth are often not easily eradicated, but too often assist in fitting them for society altogether improper for them to associate with, thus giving them wings to fly away, not only from the care of the Society but of their own and perhaps too indulgent parents".

Rachel Saul resigned from the post of schoolmistress in 1813, and Susanna Eustace, who had been an apprentice teacher in the Munster Provincial School, was appointed to Mountmellick at £20 a year 'to undertake the entire instruction of the girls', but members of the Committee resident in that town were 'desired to commit Susanna in an especial manner to the maternal regard and care of Elizabeth Smith, she being young in years'.

The widening of the circles from within which the pupils of the School were now recruited apparently suggested the desirability, about this time, of recasting the existing orders or directions for the Governor and Governess of the School³⁵ and for the Master and Schoolmistress. The revised orders for these officers required, *inter alia*, that they

- iii. Attend Meeting in the following order: Governor to precede the boys and the Master after them. The Governess to precede the girls and the Mistress after them—all four carefully attending to their conduct in Meeting, and to 'give timely caution to such as behave amiss'.
- v. They are to watch that no improper Books, Periodicals or Papers be introduced or secreted among the children, this being a source of much evil.
- vi. They are diligently to inculcate a modest deportment, to enjoin them to use the plain language,³⁶ always to speak truth without prevarication, to love one another, to be courteous, to behave respectfully to their elders, taking due notice of such as speak to

them: such a conduct will be no less an ornament to the Children than a credit to their Teachers, and all will suffer loss in proportion to their neglect of these necessary duties.

- vii. They must be very careful of their own conduct, remembering, example is more prevalent than precept, being faithful in discharging the important trust committed to them, and let the recompense of temporal things have the lowest place in their consideration.

At the Quarterly Meeting for Leinster Province held in the ninth month 1815, an entire rearrangement of the Rules governing the Provincial School was approved.³⁷ Chapter VI of this comprehensive compilation contained the following Advices 'to be strictly observed by the Children at the School':

I. They are to rise at half-past six o'clock in the morning in summer, and seven in winter, and dress themselves quietly and orderly, endeavouring to begin the day in the fear of the Lord, which is the fountain of life, preserving from the snares of death.

II. That they wash their faces and hands, and at the ringing of the bell collect themselves in order, and come decently into School, and take their seats in a becoming manner, without noise or hurry.

III. That they refrain from talking or whispering in School, and that when repeating their lessons to the Master or Mistress they speak audibly and distinctly.

IV. That they shall not be absent from School nor go out of bounds without leave.

V. That when the bell rings for breakfast, dinner or supper, they assemble in silence, and in due order, having their faces and hands clean, and their hair combed, and so proceed quietly into the dining room.

VI. That they observe a solemn silence before and after meals, under a grateful sense of the bounty they daily receive from the Father of Mercies: that they eat their food decently, be careful not to waste any of it, and refrain from conversation.

VII. That they never tell a lie, use the sacred name irreverently, or mock the aged or deformed; that whenever they are spoken to, they give attention, and with their faces turned towards those that speak to them, make the necessary reply in a modest and audible manner; but always careful to speak consistent with their knowledge and to express themselves in as few and as comprehensive words as they are able.

VIII. That they avoid all rudeness to one another, and that they behave with mildness and kindness to each other: they are enjoined when at play to observe moderation and decency; that they do not run in the house, but walk uprightly, and when shutting the doors to do so quietly; that they avoid on all occasions doing mischief to any person or animal, to their apartments, or the furniture, or to any article they have to do with.

IX. That they neither buy, sell, give nor exchange without leave; and that they strictly avoid gaming of all kinds.

X. That they observe a sober and becoming behaviour when going to, coming from, or whilst in religious meetings; that they sit still therein, labouring after composure of mind; and guard against the wanderings of their thoughts, or a drowsy disposition, and secretly desire a preparation of heart to worship aright.

XI. That they conduct themselves respectfully to all, more especially to those who have care of them, cherishing an affection and esteem of them, always ready to do any service required of them without reluctance or gloom. That they be kind and affectionate to their school-fellows, and if they imagine they have received any injury, by no means to resent it, but be willing to forgive and forget, and in all cases they obey the command of Christ 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them'.

XII. That whenever they have committed a fault, either through inadvertence or otherwise, they stand open to the discovery of it, showing a disposition to give all the satisfaction in their power, by which they will ensure forgiveness; and by their future improvement, the friendship of their caretakers and best companions.

XIII. That they constantly use the plain language correctly, and encourage others therein, and in simplicity of heart, behaviour and appearance, in a consistency of conduct with their profession; and that they carefully attend to that principle of grace in the secret of their own minds which reproves for every bad thought, word or action.

XIV. That in the evening they assemble and take their seats in the dining-room, and after attending to such parts of the Holy Scriptures or other religious books as may be read to them, they retire to their bed-chambers, quietly undress themselves, and lay aside their clothes in an orderly manner, go to and remain in their own beds, and avoid all idle discourse. They are tenderly advised to close, as well as to begin the day, with remembering their gracious Creator, whose mercies are over all his works.

The report of the School Committee for the school-year ended 30 4m.1815 was to the effect that

"The improvement of the children in the sundry branches of their learning is very evident, and their agreeable conduct bespeaks the great care that has been extended towards them. The House Department and the Farm are in good order, and we trust there is increasing encouragement for Friends to support this useful establishment."

There were then fifty-nine pupils in the School and twelve were awaiting admission. The total of the subscriptions from the Monthly Meetings that year was £296.2.6½, and payments from them in respect of 'Bills of Admission and Continuance' amounted to £571.9.9. An additional sum amounting to £195.5.10 was received in respect of certain children whose parents or friends arranged to pay the 'average cost' of maintaining and educating the children throughout the year in the School.

The accounts for the year showed a profit from the farm and garden of £28.8.6, and there was also a receipt of £1.14.9½ for 'Overtime'. The total of the receipts was £1223.9.3—£177.4.9 more than the expenditure which included

House Expenses	£669.18.7
Clothing	311. 1.6
Stationery, Books, etc.	51. 2.3
Salaries and Servants' Wages	261.19.0
Rent and Taxes	14. 4.7½
Repairs, etc.	65.13.8
Furniture for wear & tear	26.14.5

£1400.14.0½.

In 1816 the School Committee recorded 'concern to find that the subscriptions have so materially fallen off they appearing less, much less, the present year, than they have been any former one since the establishment of the School'. Later the Committee reviewed the financial condition of the School in the light of this special report:

"The School was established for forty children, but this number was afterwards increased to fifty. For many years the annual subscriptions averaged £400 and upwards, and the Bills of Admission were at £5. The expenses encreasing and the annual subscriptions decreasing the deficiency was provided for by advancing the price of Bills of Admission in the year 1805 to £10 and a subscription raised to pay off a debt that had then accumulated. Since that period the expenditure has exceeded the income by £386.14—an average of rather more than £35.3 p.a. so that after having expended £250 received of legacies and donations, which agreeably to rule should have been invested, the School on 30 of last 4m.(1816) was in debt £371.15.3. Arrangements were made about three years past to admit sixty children. The price for those able to pay was fixed for this year at £26, but as applications for £10 entries were lately becoming more numerous, the finances did not give means sufficient to give a guarded and useful education to all children of Friends in low circumstances who may be in want thereof. The funds as now existing would admit of 42 children at £10 and 18 at £26."

It was arranged to take 40 children at the reduced rate and 20 at £26 or upwards. Additions to the school-buildings, completed in 1821, resulted in comfortable class-room accommodation for 80 children. The superintendents, William C. Clendenan and Elizabeth Smith, both resigned in that year, and early in 1822 John Morris and Sarah Carter were appointed in their stead. In the same year Susanna Eustace resigned through ill-health. Jane Elwood Shannon was thereupon appointed temporarily as mistress. She was followed in 1825 by Rachel Chapman, who had been an apprentice teacher in the School. Henry Ferris who had succeeded Francis Wills as master resigned in 1825 and was followed by John Taylor of Edenderry, who within a year however made way for

John L. McCrea, who was engaged as master at '£100 British' p.a. These frequent changes of teaching staff directed the attention of the Committee to the unsettled state of the School, in which it was noted that 'there was a falling off in sundry particulars not only on its funds but in other respects'. The Committee came to the conclusion that 'the only mode under present circumstances whereby the School could be preserved agreeable to the wishes of the Society would be to seek two Friends (man and woman) who would be adequate to the entire management of the institution'. At a meeting of the Committee at Carlow on 29 12m.1827, the Dublin members submitted 'a proposal from Isaac Clark, a Friend resident in Leeds, to undertake the office of superintendent and school-master—he being a married man, that his wife should fill the station of housekeeper'. It was agreed to appoint them, and 'that for their joint services Isaac and Elizabeth Clark should receive £150 p.a. with board and lodging, and that their two children, aged 6 and 4, should 'also be inmates of the family free of expense to their parents until they attained the age of 8 years, when they may be admitted into the School on the lowest terms'. Mr. and Mrs. Clark started at Mountmellick on 1 3m.1828 with 31 children in addition to their own. Mrs. Clark died in the following year and her sister-in-law, also Elizabeth, was appointed to the post of housekeeper at £25 p.a. Isaac Clark's rate was then fixed at £130 p.a.

Certain innovations were introduced by the Clarks: in 1830, for the first time since the establishment of the School some of the children were allowed to go home to see their parents. That the School Committee had strong misgivings in the matter is evident from the record: 'and the Committee having considered the subject do grant them permission, but at the same time they think it right to express the conviction that the practice ought not to be encouraged, as it is one which they think likely to be injurious to the children as well as to the institution'. Another change introduced by Isaac Clark was the abandonment of the practice whereby the children shared beds; the introduction of day pupils was first effected also under the Clarks: the two sons of Anthony Pim (John Thacker aged 10 and Charles Anthony aged 8½) being admitted 'for such period as the Committee may think proper', though in this matter too the Committee felt 'that it was not expedient to admit day scholars'. However they fixed a fee of £12 each for any such taken in at the School. At this time the members of the School Committee were apparently well satisfied with the performance of Isaac Clark as superintendent, as in their report for 1830, while regretting to observe the falling off in the subscriptions from the Monthly Meetings, they added that 'The general state of the institution as well as the progress of the children at this time afforded us much satisfaction'; and in 1831 they reported that 'the harmony subsisting in the family, economy practised in the domestic arrangements, and the domestic arrangements, and the neatness and good order of the premises,

have at this time afforded much satisfaction'. The sub-committee of Women Friends made a less flattering report in 1833:

"We your Committee appointed to inspect the house department report that we have minutely examined the house, the general appearance of which gave satisfaction, but we regret to state that there seems deficiency in the laundry department, and considerable want of regularity in the children's clothes, also that much attention is required in the cleanliness of their persons, and the neatness of their appearance."

Following on the presentation of the foregoing report, relations between the local sub-committee and the superintendent (Isaac Clark) disimproved, and these relations were further worsened by certain unpleasantness which arose from complaints regarding the quality of the food provided for the children.³⁸ On 28 6m.1834, Isaac Clark relinquished his appointment at the School, and the school-mistress Rachel Chapman left soon afterwards. By the end of the year (1834) there were only 15 boys on the roll and the number of girls had fallen as low as 8. 'The subject of breaking up the Girls' School for the present' was considered by the Committee at its meeting in Dublin on 27 9m.1834. A few months later, Robert M. Nevitt, who had completed his apprenticeship to teaching, was appointed master of the boys' school. Martha Neale had succeeded Jane Shannon as housekeeper, and the duties of superintendent were assumed by John Taylor of Dublin in 1836. In that year, there being but five girls, Ann Walpole, who had been acting as school-mistress 'relinquished any remuneration for her services, and agreeably to her own desire was liberated'. However she returned to the School in the following year. In that year also the Committee accepted a proposal from Henry Luscombe, a Friend from Devonshire, to undertake the work of school-master. The proposal was accepted in the hope that he would be found 'an efficient and valuable officer in the department of education'.

When John Taylor left in 1839, Henry Luscombe was appointed superintendent and schoolmaster. He was given John Thompson as assistant superintendent. The post of schoolmistress was then held by Mary Ann Kenway. When she and Henry Luscombe married in 1841, she was retained in the School as lady superintendent and housekeeper, and Margaret Newbold was appointed to succeed her as school-mistress. Henry Luscombe and his wife relinquished their posts at the Provincial School in 1847, and opened a private school at Derrycappagh.³⁹ Henry Luscombe however retained a connection with the former school for some years as an active member of the local visiting committee. He was associated with Marcus Goodbody and Jonathan Pim in 1852 in an examination of the plan of education in operation in schools comparable to Mountmellick, and the submission of recommendations as to desirable changes. On consideration of these recommendations, the Committee came to the conclusion that 'the range of instruction at the Provincial School required to be considerably extended, especially in reference to subjects of a scientific character'. Nonetheless no notable change was

made at this time in the school arrangements, though the Committee decided in 1853 to give a vacation of four weeks 'as an experiment'. It may be of interest to note that an item of loss in the accounts of the Committee for this year was attributed to the expenses of a distraint in respect of tithes claimed on the produce of the farm and garden.

A school, similar to that at Mountmellick, had been opened under the auspices of the Munster Quarterly Meeting in the former residence of the Wyse family at Newtown, Waterford, on 1 8m.1798, for the accommodation of forty boys and twenty girls. In 1855, it was decided by mutual agreement that the Quarterly Meetings of Leinster and Munster Provinces 'should unite for the care of these institutions, and believing that advantage would arise from having the Boys and Girls educated in separate establishments, it was concluded that the house and premises at Newtown should be appropriated for the Boys' School, and those at Mountmellick for the Girls' School'. Joshua Jacob was the last boy admitted to Mountmellick Provincial School. When the boys removed to Newton in the summer of 1885, Joseph Thompson, being the youngest afterwards regarded himself as the 'last boy out'.⁴⁰ Mary Howell was lady superintendent and Lucy Bewley Teacher of First Class when Mountmellick School opened for girls only on 8 8m.1855. It was visited on 9 May, 1856 by George Whitley Abraham, one of the Assistant Commissioners associated with the public Inquiry of 1854-8 into Educational Endowments in Ireland. His reports on many of the schools inspected by him including Mountmellick Boys' and Girls' Church School were scathing but in regard to the Provincial School he wrote:

"I cannot say I noticed anything deserving of else than praise in the conduct of this school. The attitude of the superintendent and teachers was most becoming, and the demeanour of the pupils modest without timidity. I feel convinced there is a firm discipline, free from austerity or browbeating, maintained in this establishment. The state of instruction I believe to be the highest of which an extensive and judicious school course admits. The pupils read with perfectly correct but unexaggerated emphasis; were well acquainted with the derivation of words; answered without one mistake all the questions put to them in grammar, including some of a searching description . . . I think it only right to state that this is, in every respect, the most creditably managed school of its kind that has fallen under my observation."⁴¹

From 1855 till it was 'laid down' in 1920, the Friends' Provincial School, Mountmellick, was rightly regarded as one of the best of the boarding-schools providing secondary education for girls in Ireland. Its records for this latter period might well furnish interesting material for supplementary study.

NOTES

¹ Isabel Grubb, M.A., *My Irish Journal—1669: 1670—by William Penn*, London 1952 p. 68: editorial note under November 1, 1669. The development of Mountmellick as a centre of population is somewhat obscure. A popularly accepted view is that it started as an English colony near the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that it was still in its infancy when the Quakers began to settle in or near it. In his letter of 8 December 1838 on the parish of 'Rossanallis', John O'Donovan wrote: "The town of Mountmellick, the largest and best in Queen's County is mostly in this parish. I have no history of its origin, but as it does not appear on the old map of Leax and Ophaly or on the Down Survey, I conclude it must be a very modern town, owing perhaps its origin, and certainly its flourishing condition to the money making followers of George Fox. In the documents relating to the O'Duns of Hy-Regan to whom this place originally belonged, it is called Mointaghe Melicke i.e. the bogs (or boggy lands) of Meelicke".—*Ordnance Survey Letters* (N.L.I. Typescript Vol. I, page 83, note no. 201.). Whilst it is true that Mountmellick is not on the map of the Philip and Mary Plantation, it is included in the Down Survey, and is marked on Sir William Petty's *Hiberniae Delinatio*.

² William Edmundson, *Journal*, Dublin 1715 p. 26.

³ John Rutty, *History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland from the Year 1653 to 1700*. Dublin 1751 p. 118.

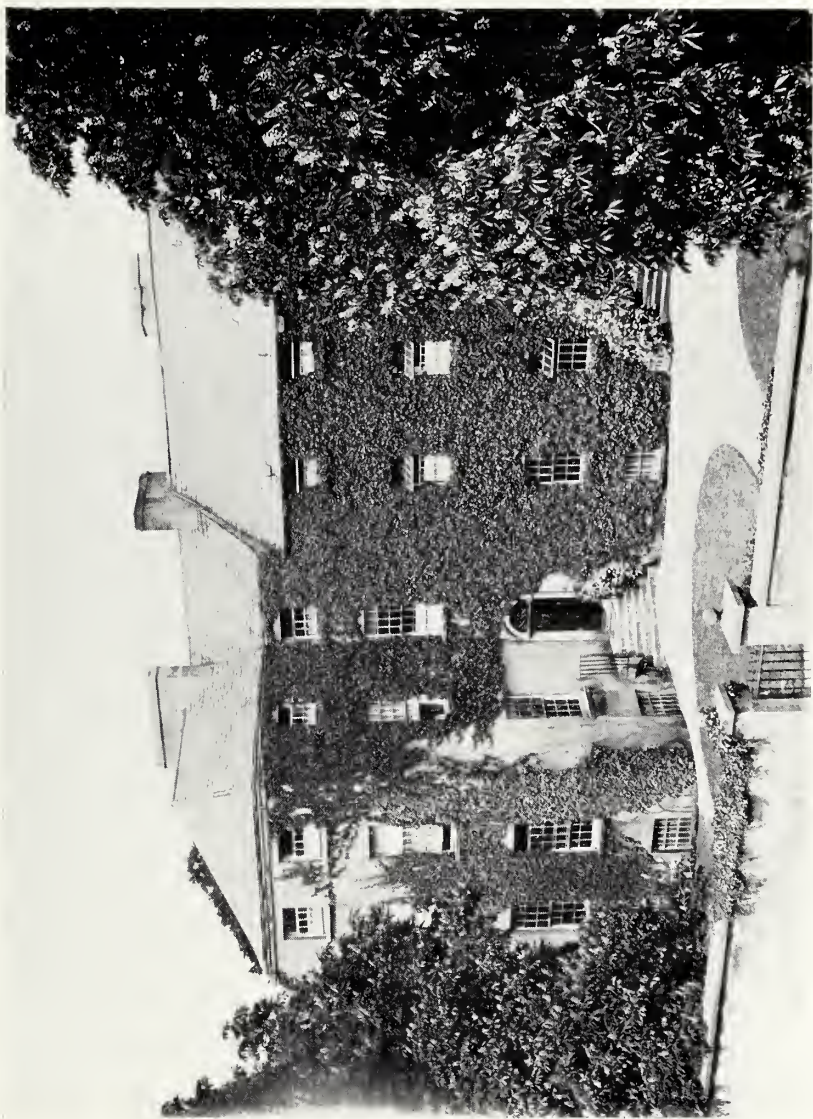
⁴ The account of William Edmundson's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1888 Edn. Vol. XVI, pp. 412-4) is based largely on that given by himself in his *Journal* (op. cit.). He was born in Westmorland in 1627, and, on completing an apprenticeship to carpentry and joinery, he joined the parliamentary army in which he served under Cromwell at the battle of Worcester. On demobilisation he married and intended opening a shop in his wife's native Derbyshire. He was however persuaded by his brother (then serving with the army of occupation at Waterford) to do so in Ireland instead, where, as he records (*Journal* p. 13), there were 'presentations and opportunities to get riches' at that time either by trading or taking land. On a return visit to England, he became a Quaker, and in the year 1654 at his house in Lurgan he started 'the first settled meeting of the people called Quakers in Ireland' (Rutty op. cit. p. 87). From the time of his settling in the Irish midlands towards the close of the Protectorate till his death more than half a century later in the reign of Queen Anne, he was the foremost Quaker in Ireland. After his death, Tobias Pledwell and John Barcroft on behalf of Mountmellick Monthly Meeting testified to his constant zeal 'in Addressing the Government and the Chiefest Men in Authority, on Behalf of Friends and the English Inhabitants' of Ireland (*Journal* xxxviii). A memorial tablet on the south wall of 'The Friends' Sleeping Place' at Tinieel, Rosenallis, where he was interred in 1712, records that he was 'the first member of the Society of Friends who settled in Ireland'. *Memorials of the Dead, Ireland*. Vol. X. 1917-20. p. 376.

⁵ W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*. London 1912. p. 214 (quoted from the *Boswell Middleton Colln.* in the Friends' Library, London).

⁶ *The Present State of Ireland, together with some Remarques . . .* London, printed by M. D. for Chr. Wilkinson at the Black-Boy in Fleet Street . . . 1673. pp. 71-2.

⁷ Edward MacLysaght, M.A. *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century (after Cromwell)*. Dublin. 1939. p. 254.

⁸ Since the coming of the Quakers to Ireland 'may almost be called an outcome of the Cromwellian Settlement' (Isabel Grubb, M.A. *Quakers in Ireland 1654-1900*. London. 1927. p. 16), their feeling towards the country and its people was identical with that of the other settlers. Their common attitude was the same as that attributed to William Penn in that 'He failed to realise the injustice done to the people of Ireland; he looked upon it as a country to be colonised and settled by the English. He . . . had apparently no sympathy with the Irish owners so unjustly dispossessed. . . . He was probably unaware of the high state of civilisation which had been destroyed by the coming of the English'. (Isabel Grubb, M.A. *Penn's Journal* op. cit. preface pp. 15-16). Nonetheless the beginning of the growth of the liberal views which characterised later generations of Quakers in Ireland may be traced to the lifetime of some of the earliest settlers, as in 1695 they recorded their 'desire that Friends that are Land Lords may be tender for the honour of Truth and their inward



The Friends' Provincial School, Mountmellick

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Quaker Schoolchildren, c. 1810
(from a drawing by W. Johnson)

Good and for the sake of poorer men their tenants not to set their Lands and Tenements at a Rack Rent to the Opressing and Grinding the face of the poor and bringing Reproach upon ye Gracious Truth', (N.L.I. MS. No. 94: Richard Shackleton, Ballitore—*Transcript of Minutes of Half-Yearly Meetings, beginning 1671*).

⁹William Penn, who had been arrested at a Quaker meeting in Cork in 1667, complained to Orrery that 'so malicious and injurious a practice to innocent Englishmen' was 'a bad argument to invite English hither', and he was immediately released. Ruty op. cit. p. 126.

For William Edmundson, Mountrath had 'a place in his heart, which he retained to his death; also his son after him was always kind and ready to do Friends good upon occasion'. *Journal* op. cit. p. 41.

¹⁰'Boycotting, as the practice was named after its adoption by the Land League in 1880, was introduced by Rev. George Clapham in the parish of Rosenallis more than two centuries previously. This is Edmundson's description of the process as applied in the year 1665: 'I Having my Liberty, found a Concern on my Mind, to sollicite the Government against the Priest's Fierceness and Cruelty. For George Clapham, Priest of Mountmellick, endeavour'd to prevent the Miller's grinding our Corn for our Families, or any to Speak or Trade with us, or any of our Families; he watch'd the Market, and our Friends' Shops; and those he saw, or knew to deal with Friends, he sent the Apparitor to Summon them to the Bishop's-Court. . . . This Priest told his hearers, That if they met any of us in the High-way, they should shun us, as they would shun the Plague; and if they owed us any thing, they need not pay it; or if they knockt us on the head, the Law would bear them out'. *Journal* op. cit. p. 43.

¹¹Presidential Address 1955 to Friends' Historical Society, London—*Early Quakerism in Ireland*, by John M. Douglas.

¹²Edmundson, *Journal*, op. cit. p. 120. Also Ruty, op. cit. p. 157: A.D. 1689. 'Hereupon Friends made application to King James, who received them kindly, and promised that he would take a particular care that they would be protected'.

¹³The 'Acts Orders and Proceedings of the Commons House of Parliament assembled and met together in Chichester House, Dublin, 1695-8' contain the following denial under date 15 November 1698: 'an address of William Edmundson, Thomas Strafford, Robert Hooke, Thomas Weight, and Gershon Boate in behalf of themselves and the rest of their friends, the people called Quakers, in the Kingdom of Ireland, humbly intreating, this House would be pleased not to entertain hard thoughts of them concerning groundless and untrue reflections that they lent King James money, and raised and clothed a regiment for him; and that this House would put a charitable construction upon their tender scruple of conscience, in not subscribing the Declaration, in regard the sacred name of God is therein contained, and in that respect too much like an oath. . . .'. p. 1044.

¹⁴Ruty, op. cit. pp. 158, 177.

¹⁵*Some Account of the Life of Joseph Pike of Cork Ireland written by himself*. The Friends' Library. Philadelphia. 1838. Vol. II. p. 369.

¹⁶Isabel Grubb, M.A. *Quakers in Ireland* op. cit. p. 81.

¹⁷Ruty, op. cit. pp. 199-200.

¹⁸Friends' Archives, Dublin. Port. 5a. 24.

¹⁹*The Journal of William Savery*. The Friends' Library. Philadelphia. 1837. Vol. I. pp. 327-481.

²⁰Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*. London 1921. p. 672n.

²¹Edward Grubb, M.A. *What is Quakerism*. London 1917. p. 175 & Rufus M. Jones, op. cit. p. 672.

²²The Quakers discarded the 'heathen names' of the months and of the days of the week. Since the year began in England (prior to 1752) on 25 March, that month was styled First Month and so on. The last seven days of March were taken as belonging to the New Year. January and February were regarded as the Eleventh and Twelfth Months of the preceding year. In Quaker records the whole of March is reckoned as First Month, and April becomes Second Month. The following dates

of consecutive meetings in February and March illustrate the practice:

'27th of 12m. 1684', i.e. February. '6th 13th 20th 27th of 1m. 1685', i.e. March. The substitution of Quaker dating for that in general use has 'resulted in much chronological confusion'.—W. C. Braithwaite, op. cit. preface vi, vii; also Dr Arnold Lloyd, *Quaker Social History*. London 1948, note on dating app. B, p. 183.

²³ This scheme is set out in a document (No. 5 A.1) in the Friends' Archives, Dublin, endorsed '*Estimate of Annual Expense of the Provincial School, ATHY*'. It is also contained in the Register (No. B. 10) also in the Archives.

^{24A} On an examination of the expenditure on food, the Committee concluded in 1788 that savings might be made

- i. By laying in Wheat in a proper season and manufacturing it into Bread for which the local committee was directed to provide convenient bins for storage also a Boulting Machine.
- ii. By a small alteration in the Bill of Fare, striking off the Tea on first day evenings, and in case of a scarcity of milk some other substitute may be used. Also to avoid the use of Sugar unless where it is absolutely necessary.

At the beginning of 1799, 'it being now proposed that it might be proper to allow the children four meals of animal food in each week throughout the year instead of what is at present ordered, the Committee agreed thereto'.

In 1805, glazed ware, probably made locally, was substituted for the wooden trenchers hitherto used at the School at meal-times.

A sub-committee appointed in 1827 recommended 'that the strictest economy and frugality be used in the various branches of expenditure particularly in those of clothing, groceries, meat, wheat and flour; that less bread and more strabout and potatoes be used in the Family, and that the use of beer be discontinued'.—(At the beginning of the century there were four breweries in Mountmellick: 'The beer is excellent and supplies most of the neighbouring towns, even without the county'. R.D.S. *Statistical Survey of the Queen's County*, by Sir Charles Coote. Dublin. 1801. A later survey of 1819 indicated that

'there are five breweries in the town of Mountmellick which produce excellent beer'. Rev John Baldwin, *Parish of Rosenallis or Oregan*, in *A Statistical Survey of Ireland*. Dublin 1819 Vol. III. p. 327 (by William Shaw Mason)).

^{24B} The minutes of this meeting contain the first recorded report on the work of the School, and indicated that it had begun well as 'the orderly appearance of the children was pleasing and satisfactory to the Friends present at the meeting as was their improvement in necessary learning'.

^{24C} Three years later, 'Anne Paisley found her mind engaged to reside in the School as a lodger, in order to give her assistance thereto, the Committee approved of her concern therein and the motives of it . . . she does not seem easy to reside without paying for her board'.

²⁵ William Leadbeater received his education at the Quaker School at Ballitore under Richard Shackleton, whose gifted daughter, Mary, has written:—'On the 7th of Fifth-month, 1777 William Leadbeater came to school. His brother-in-law and guardian, an episcopal clergyman, and his neighbour, a clergyman of the Church of Rome, accompanied him hither. That these two men lived in good neighbourhood, but in sincere friendship was matter of wonder to some; while others saw no reason why a difference of religious sentiments should prevent liberal minds from assimilating. The orphan boy whom they introduced possessed dispositions calculated to gain the goodwill of that family of which he now forms part. . . In 1791 I changed my name of Shackleton, and took that which belonged to my friend William Leadbeater'. *The Leadbeater Papers*, Vol. I. 2nd. Edn. London 1862. pp. 104, 192.

²⁶ Richard Shackleton, who had succeeded his father as master of the famous Quaker School at Ballitore in 1756 was deeply interested in the working of the Quaker Provincial School at Mountmellick. On 20 8m. 1792, a week before his death of malignant fever he wrote to his daughter, Margaret Grubb:—'I expect to go to Mountmellick tomorrow, and to attend the Monthly Meeting there next day, and join in a visit to the provincial school'. Another daughter, Mary Leadbeater, has left this account of his end:—'On the 21st he rose early, as he was accustomed to do, bathed, took leave of his family. and, accompanied by a servant, set out on

horseback for Mountmellick, to attend the committee for the provincial school. He left home apparently in his usual health and spirits, but his daughter Chandlee when he reached her home in Athy six miles on the way, thought he did not seem quite well. However, he proceeded fourteen miles to Mountmellick, and to the house of his friend John Gatchell. Not apprehending that he was alarmingly ill, he sat one of the meetings; but being obliged to go out of the next, John Gatchell sent his servant back to Ballitore to acquaint his family of his indisposition. His son and daughter Sarah, immediately went to him—he died 28th 8mo. 1792, aged 66.'—Mary Leadbeater, *Memoirs and Letters of Richard and Elizabeth Shackleton*. London 1822. p. 210.

²⁷ These years mark the beginning of the prevalence of malignant contagious fever 'that most calamitous indication of general distress in Ireland', and by which the country was ravaged for over half a century. 'The classes of people who were, comparatively speaking, exempt from fever, were those who had abundance of good food, who were supplied with clothing and fuel, who were less exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, and whose minds were at ease, at least above the feelings of despondency. The infrequency of fever among the class of society in comfortable circumstances is attributable to . . . seclusion from those by whom the disease is most frequently communicated. Little or no fever had appeared among the society of Quakers, probably from the same causes operating from a higher degree'. *First Report of the Select Committee on the State of Disease . . . in Ireland*. Parly. Paper (H. of C.) 7 May 1819. No. 314. pp. 11 and 51.

²⁸ Paul Deighan, a Dublin 'Philomath', included the following recommendation in the introductory papers to his *Geography of Ireland*:
Paul Deighan,

Esteemed friend, having examined the second edition of thy Arithmetic and think it the most judicious performance of the kind of any which I have hitherto seen, and the best calculated for enabling youth to become adepts in that valuable science.

I am pleased to hear that a second edition of thy excellent System of Book-keeping is at press. It has justly merited that decided preference to all others which I have given it in my school.

Thy obliged friend

Provincial School Mountmellick
7th of 4th Month 1810.

Francis Willis

^{29A} 'At Middleton the pupils have the use of a small and, it is stated, well-assorted library, after the hours of school business'.—Report of Select Committee of House of Commons on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland 1838. p. 60. The introduction of a school library at Mountmellick as early as 1793 was an innovation which would appear to be out of line with early Quaker ideas on general reading. In the preface to the Journal of George Fox published in 1694, William Penn advised his brethren to 'Have but few books . . . indeed reading many books is taking the mind too much from meditation . . . much reading is an oppression of the mind, and extinguishes the natural candle, which is the reason of so many senseless scholars in the world'.—The Friends' Library Philadelphia 1841. Vol. V. p. 299. Penn dealt with the question of education also in this preface, advising: 'Learn and teach your children fair writing, and the most useful parts of mathematics, and some business when young whatever else they are taught. . . Choose God's trades before man's: Adam was a gardener, Cain a ploughman and Abel a grazier or shepherd; these began with the world, and have least of snare and most of use'.—op. cit. pp. 298-9.

^{29B} This Friend gave devoted service to the children of the School for thirty-five years. In 1821, having 'arrived at an advanced age' and desiring 'retirement to a place of less care and more seclusion', she resigned from the post of superintendent and housekeeper and was succeeded by Sarah Carter.

³⁰ This was the Boarding School for Quaker girls opened by Anne Shannon in 1787. The total inclusive fee for board and tuition at this school was 28 guineas a year. The school continued till 1826 and was availed of as a finishing school for girls from the Provincial School who, under the Rules of that school, were obliged to leave it at the age of fourteen.

³¹ William Savery's estimate of a total population of one hundred Quaker children in Mountmellick in 1798 is very likely correct, as, in addition to the two schools mentioned, there were two other Quaker schools in the town: one for girls kept by Anne Jane Beale, and one for boys kept by William Mullen—each of these schools was attended by a few Catholic children as well as by children of various Protestant denominations.

³² Savery's account of his journey from Rathangan gives some idea of the possible discomfort of approaching Mountmellick by post chaise in mid-winter in the days before the extension of the Grand Canal from Monasterevan: 'Set off for Mountmellick, the weather being wet and stormy; before we got to Portarlinton . . . one of the fellows of a wheel of our chaise broke; we walked into the town and hired a post chaise, but before we got a mile from thence our post chaise broke down in a very dirty place, Jane Watson, William Farren and myself in it. It rained very fast, and being invited, we went into a miserable cabin with little fire, where lived two wretched families with several children, to whom we gave some money, and they poured fourth a profusion of blessings as usual. Most of the poor being Roman Catholics, their benedictions are often very singular. We had to stay a considerable time before another chaise could be procured, and were very cold, though well clad; yet most of the family were without shoes or stockings: I thought we ought not to complain, but be thankful. When we entered our third chaise, it still raining hard and the waters much raised, we were in some danger; but by going one mile round we arrived safely in the evening'.—The Friends' Library op. cit. Vol. I. pp. 327-481.

³³ Details of the studies and progress in 1801-2 of about a dozen boys set out in ff. 45-70 of the 'Proceedings of the Committee appointed by the Quarterly Meeting of Leinster Province for instituting and superintending Provincial School in said Province' (T.C.D. MS. Q. 2. 10.) do not refer to this School. The accompanying notes e.g. 2 9m. 1801 'The morning fair (avant déjeuner) we take a walk to the Rath of Mullinamast and to the dumplings', and 'took a walk to Narramore Wood' suggest that this colourful brief record is in respect of a special class at Ballitore School. In the afternoon before St Martin's day 1801 the whole class 'went to gather Seed to Sow', and on the day following it was noted that 'an agreeable thaw invites us to unbind ourselves with the rest of creation—the softening air is balm!'

³⁴ Communicating his recollections to the organisers of the Centenary Celebrations at the School in 1886, a past pupil related that in his time (1836): 'Boys and girls met in the dining-rooms for meals, and to hear the Scriptures read; but no further intercourse was allowed, and we never met in class, but with all the pains taken to maintain separation, little messages of love frequently passed between amateur lovers, though in no single instance did these little affairs come to anything in after life'.—Mary A. Townson in Centenary Handbook Dublin 1888. p. 29.

³⁵ In the records, the title Governor is frequently applied to the Superintendent, and that of Governess to the Lady Superintendent or Housekeeper.

³⁶ The *plain language* meant the use of *thou* and *thee* instead of *you*, for single persons. In the seventeenth century the use of *you* to a single person implied that that person was worth two others, hence the Quaker insistence that this was not truthful in speaking of one person. The *plain language* also meant using numerals for the days of the weeks and the months instead of 'the heathen names'.—note by Miss Isabel Grubb.

³⁷ Rules for the Government of Leinster Provincial School. Dublin. Printed by Graisberry and Campbell, 10 Back-Lane. 1816. (Copy in R.I.A. Haliday Colln. Vol. 1092, also in Friends' Archives Dublin 5A(27)).

³⁸ 'The period of which we are writing appears to have been an unhappy one in the history of the school. Rumours were prevalent injurious to the institution. One incident may suffice to show that these were not without foundation. Such distasteful food was provided for dinner that the boys on one occasion arranged to call out when it made its appearance *John Bull and his old plum pudding*—in allusion to the English superintendent'.—Mary A. Townson in Centenary Handbook op. cit. pp. 27-8.

³⁹ Joseph Thompson of Wexford, who was a pupil at the Provincial School during the years 1853-5, told, more than thirty years later, of the 'great jealousy between the Provindigers and the Derrycappagh boys (Henry Luscombe's); and if, through

want of foresight, we met in the Meeting-house passage, a fight ensued; and as the Cappagh boys were great big fellows, and we were always the aggressors, we got the worst of it'.—Centenary Handbook. op. cit. p. 37.

⁴⁰ Writing in 1886, Joseph Thompson had happy recollections of his schooldays at Mountmellick: We played all the usual boys' games, such as prisoner's base, rounders, fives, for which we had a large alley; swimming, sliding, and skating, in their seasons; cricket and football were not much indulged in, probably because the school was too small to make two good sides to play these games properly. Another form of amusement was catching gudgeon in the Owenass, either with horse-hair snares, or in a wholesale fashion with bag-nets. Gudgeon have peculiar habits, different from other fish; being gregarious, they can be driven like sheep. I have at times helped to drive flocks of these fish from the bridge to the shoals under the wheel. The mode of catching was to drive them to a narrow place up current, then fix two converging rows of sods or stones, with a sack placed open-mouthed between, and held in place by sticks, and drive them in. Of course some fish would rebel against the operation; and as our appliances were not always perfect, the chances would be largely in favour of some of the more active fish getting off. The boys in charge of the sack would get too excited and draw it too soon, or not soon enough and fish would miss or back out; then there would be a scramble down stream to collect the missing ones. Of course the operation was done while wading, sometimes almost to the hip; condition of clothes was of no account. If the sack had a hole in it, most likely discovered at the last moment, a boy had only to stick his toe in it and hold on—the experience of sundry fish plunging round your toe was none of the nicest, as I well remember. To snare them, it was necessary to have a very long switch with a very fine top, a loop with running noose of horse-hair tied on to the top. Select your gudgeon, fat one of course, approach quietly, drop open noose into water, a little in front, draw very quietly towards him and over his head, then a quick jerk upwards towards the gills, and he is yours. It requires nerve and patience to catch many this way.

These amusements were legitimate. Of those which were not so, I may mention bathing above the weir, going out of bounds, either into town or beyond the school-fields . . . the points of danger being the probability of meeting a teacher in the street or being seen from the parlour windows coming back. . . . Indoors, there were bolster fights and night expeditions down the lobbies and staircases. Centenary Handbook. op. cit. pp. 34-6.

⁴¹ Endowed Schools Ireland Commission 1854-8. H.M.S.O. 1858. Vol. III. p. 211.

For references required in the preparation of this paper the writer records his indebtedness to Miss E. Brereton, Mrs Olive C. Goodbody, Mr & Mrs J. R. W. Goulden, Miss Helen D. Jones, Mr Brinsley McNamara, and Mr W. J. O'Sullivan. In particular he desires to thank Miss Isabel Grubb, M.A., for a most helpful detailed commentary on the original draft submitted for her approval. Permission was readily given by the Leinster Quarterly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends for the inclusion of relevant extracts from the minute books and papers in the care of the Historical Committee.

SPRAT OR WHITE-FISH WEIRS IN WATERFORD HARBOUR

By Arthur E. J. Went, Member

In the past hundred years many ancient and interesting methods of fishing have disappeared in Ireland. Generally there were obvious reasons for them having done so. Ancient forms of salmon weirs, known as head weirs, were exceedingly common in the estuaries of a number of rivers along the south coast and, in particular, in Waterford Harbour, and in the tidal waters of the Rivers Slaney, Blackwater, Lee and Bandon.¹ These weirs, for the most part, were declared illegal by the Special Commissioners of Irish Fisheries in the sixties of last century and a single example, close to Buttermilk Castle, just north of Ballyhack, Co. Wexford, was left in operation. Even this weir has not been used for sixty years or so. In any case had these engines been permitted today their numbers would, no doubt, have decreased owing to the hardships under which the fishermen operated. Other engines have disappeared because of the high labour costs when compared with the financial returns.

Large numbers of sprat weirs were used in the days gone by in Waterford Harbour. Many of these have now gone out of existence because, apart from the great amount of labour involved, the material required for their construction is now only procurable at great cost. The term "sprat weir" is misleading, since nowadays sprats form only a small part of the fishes caught by the weirs, so it would perhaps be better to call them "white-fish" weirs. One thing is certain, they do not take adult salmon, which are too active to be caught by this method of fishing, although salmon fry would be taken in quantity if the weirs were fished during the run of smolts to the sea. There is, in fact, a tradition in the area that the sprat weirs are not fished from 20th April for a period of two months. This period usually covers the smolt run and the stocks of salmon are not, therefore, interfered with to any extent.

In the beginning of 1949, between Passage East and Ballyhack on the south and Little Island, just east of Waterford City, there were 16 sprat weirs in existence and their situations are shown in Fig. 1. There were, in addition, large numbers of derelict weirs. That these weirs have survived is due probably to the simplicity of construction when compared with some of the older weirs in the Cork Blackwater.² Two types of weirs exist in this area, namely, ebb weirs and flood weirs, the former being more numerous than the latter (Fig. 1.). The only difference in construction

¹ See Went, *J.R.S.A.I.* lxxvi (1946) 176-94, and lxxviii (1948) 1-4.

² Went, "An ancient fish-weir at Ballynatray, Co. Waterford, Ireland." *Antiquity*, xxv, 32-5 (March 1951).

is that the ebb weir is directed downstream, whereas the flood weir is directed upstream.

For the most part the bed of Waterford Harbour is deep soft mud and into this at suitable places long poles, similar to the old fashioned scaffold poles, are driven in vertically in two lines which run across the current. A gap of about 6 feet wide (this varies from weir to weir) is left where the poles approach one another closest and over the gap a platform is constructed. To the lower part of the poles, which are usually 1-2 feet apart

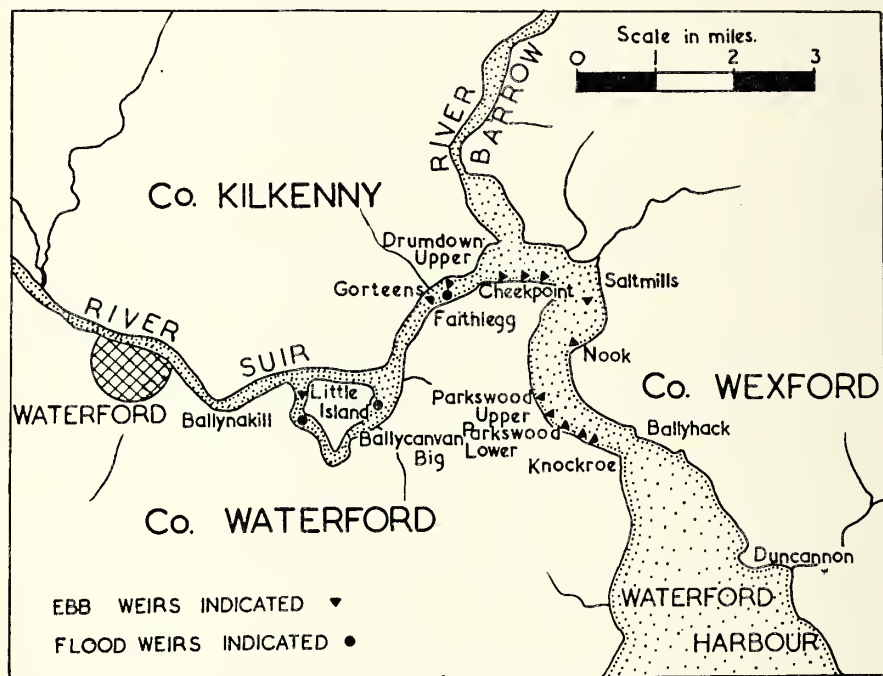


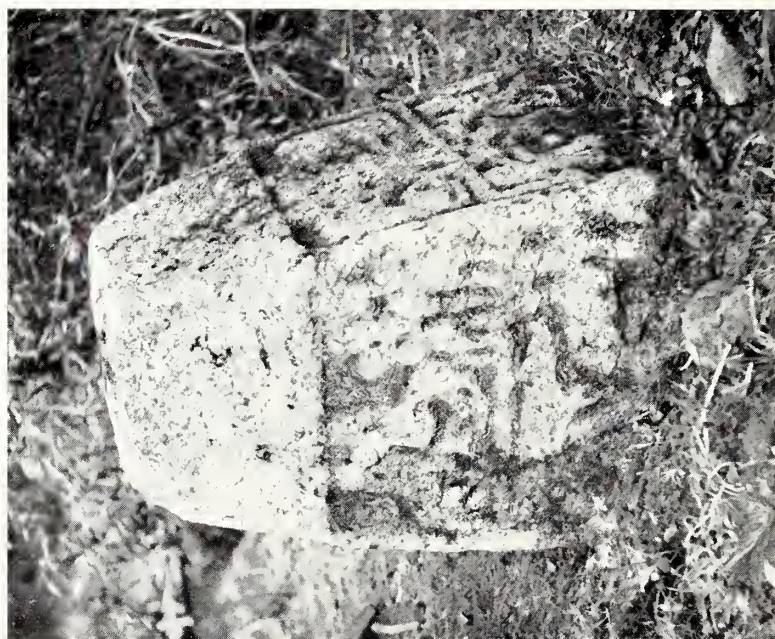
Fig. 1. Sketch map showing the situation of serviceable sprat weirs in 1949.

in portions of the arms remote from the gap, netting or wire mesh or twigs may be attached. A long conical net attached to two long poles is fished in the gap. (Plate VI).

It is well known that with a rising tide many kinds of fishes tend to move onshore or up an estuary and when the tide turns the fish drop downstream again. The so-called sprat weirs of this type take advantage of this habit of fishes. Fishes dropping downstream with the falling tide finding themselves between the converging walls of the weir seldom attempt to swim out of the space between the two arms of the weir and they eventually find their way into the conical net. Once in the net they seldom leave it. The weir is usually fished from a row-boat by the tail or cod end of the net being taken aboard and the net emptied. As



Views of sprat weirs in neighbourhood of Cheekpoint, Co. Waterford
(taken in 1949). In both cases the net is not in fishing position.



Sculptured Cross-base at Oldcourt, near Bray, Co. Wicklow

this type of weir works automatically during the ebb tide, the operation takes little time. It is the construction and maintenance which require long hours of arduous labour. Flood weirs are similar in character except that being directed upstream they only take fish on the flood tide. Naturally the most favourable time for fishing the net is the turn of the tide, i.e. at dead low water for ebb weirs and high tide for flood weirs.

Fish taken by these weirs are of good quality and consist of sprats, herrings, mackerel, whiting, codling, pollack, coalfish, flounders, plaice, dabs, soles, bass, mullet and a few other species. In addition, many non-commercial species are taken from time to time. Apparently in days gone by the weirs were operated mainly for the sprats, which occurred towards the second half of the year in this locality. Nowadays, however, sprats are of less value than the other species. Catches of fish naturally vary from day to day and month to month but taking the year as a whole the fishing appears to be well worthwhile to the fishermen engaged.

These engines must be regarded as of ancient lineage and there is evidence that some have been for very long periods on the same sites. Their ancient origin was fully recognised by the Fisheries (Ireland) Act of 1842, Section 39 of which permitted their use, subject to certain restrictions, during the annual close season for salmon. In the past these weirs appear to have given large numbers of fishermen a good living but whether they will continue to do so is doubtful. Nevertheless, as many of the weirs operated recently have been repaired, it seems that for the next few years, at least, there is little likelihood of these engines going out of existence entirely.

MISCELLANEA

The Megalith at Clogherny, Tyrone. Professor O'Kelly, in the report on his excavation of a wedge-shaped grave at Island (*J.R.S.A.I.* lxxxviii (1958) p.1) suggests a comparison with Clogherny Meenerrigal (*U.J.A.* ii (1939) p.37) and surmises that the cairn of the latter would originally have extended as far as the ring of spaced uprights. This raises the question whether megalithic cairns were bounded by a wall or sloped down to ground-level. The Island cairn is reconstructed, with some plausibility, in the latter form, the circle of small stones marking the edge of the cairn instead of being a true kerb. Some of the northern wedge-shaped graves, like Largantea and Loughash, could have sloped down to ground-level, the kerb indicated being really an interior revetment. The excavators did not look for an outer ring, nor were conditions favourable for its discovery after the tillage of the surrounding land.

Clogherny however is different, and it is unlikely that the circle of uprights ever bounded the cairn. Though it might fall into the family of wedge-shaped graves, it has degenerated to something near the megalithic cist, like Lisky (Tyrone). The stones of the circle are four or five feet high, while those at Island are thought, according to the reconstruction, to have been not more than a few inches; this is probable, from the shallowness of some of their pits. At Clogherny, the circle-stones are 10-14 feet from the edge of the cairn as determined, so it appears that, if Professor O'Kelly is right, the following amount of cairn has been lost:

$$\text{Between cairn-edge and circle } (30^2\pi - 16^2\pi) \times 4 = 8000 \text{ ft.}^3$$

$$\text{Top of outer part of cairn, a small amount, perhaps } 200$$

$$\text{Approximate total } 8200 \text{ ft.}^3$$

As Clogherny was covered by several feet of turf and had been sealed for a long time, and as it lies on unwallled moorland country, this enormous disappearance of cairn probably before the Christian era is unlikely.

In the publication of Clogherny I referred to passage-graves surrounded by free-standing circles of stones. I still think that this is the easiest interpretation of the monument. It will be noted that the stones round the Island grave are not thought to have formed a circle, but a U-shaped peristalith with sides concentric with the chamber and inner revetment, and in addition the segment of a circle in front of the entrance, reminiscent of the complete circles into which the forecourts of horned cairns sometimes developed.

O. Davies

Sculptured Cross-base at Oldcourt, near Bray, Co. Wicklow. The photographs of this stone which are reproduced on Plate VII were taken recently by Mlle. F. Henry. Fig. 1, the face which is illustrated by her in *La Sculpture Irlandaise* (Pl. 97, 6), shows a little additional detail. Fig. 2 shows the adjoining face, which has not been previously illustrated; the sculptures of Fig. 1 appear on the right. The third sculptured face is shown in *La Sculpture Irlandaise*, Plate 97, 1. The fourth face has no carving except the raised line which forms the top border of the upper panel on the other faces. It is difficult to say why one side of the stone should be without decoration; one is led to wonder whether it was intended to stand against a wall, or whether the work was left uncompleted.

L. Price.

Rathealy Fort, Co. Kilkenny. This great circular fort, which the Society visited during the Summer Excursion, has been described shortly in Carrigan's *Diocese of Ossory* (III 496), and recently by Mrs. Healy in the *Old Kilkenny Review* (IV (1951) 12), but no plan of it has been published. These earth monuments are so easily destroyed that it seemed desirable to get it measured, so Mrs. Phelan, Vice-Chairman of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, our Local Secretary, made the necessary arrangements, and she has now forwarded the plan and section which are shown in the figure; these have been made by Mr. Coffey, County Surveyor, Co. Kilkenny, who surveyed the fort in September.

To emphasise the height of the banks, the contours have been exaggerated in the section by increasing the vertical scale to about four times the horizontal.

During the party's visit to the site Mr. Walsh pointed out the place where, according to tradition, there is a 'cave' or underground chamber; Carrigan mentions it, and says that it is beneath the foundations of a house, and that there is an entrance to it on the east side of the fort. The traditional site of the 'cave' is where 'Ruins' is marked on the Plan.

Ed.

BOOK REVIEWS

IRISH CHURCHES & MONASTIC BUILDINGS: II: Gothic Architecture to A.D. 1400. By H. G. Leask. Dundalgan Press, W. Tempest Ltd. 1958. 35/-.

The history of early Irish Architecture has been a subject long neglected both by authors and publishers, and in fact, no fully comprehensive or authoritative work on the subject had been published until 1955 when Dr. Leask brought out Volume One of his 'Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings'. This volume dealt with the progress of Ecclesiastical Architecture from the earliest times up to the development of the Irish Romanesque Style in the twelfth century. It was the author's original intention to conclude his work in a second volume dealing with the Gothic Period, but, as can well be appreciated, as the work progressed it was found that the subject was too extensive for finalization in a single volume. It was decided, therefore, to devote Volume Two, which is now published, to the Period of the Transition from Romanesque to Gothic Architecture, dating from roughly the middle of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century, leaving the period of final development of the Gothic Style for completion at a later date.

Volume Two begins with an interesting study of the monastic way of life in Ireland at the middle of the twelfth century, and of the manner in which it influenced the design of monastic buildings. The Cistercians, coming as they did from England early in the century where the pointed arch of the Gothic Style had just made its appearance, may be said to have introduced the new constructional forms to Ireland. Their buildings at Baltinglass, Jerpoint and Boyle, among others so beautifully described and illustrated by Dr. Leask, reflect the characteristics of the early Transitional Period. It is fascinating to see here recorded and analysed the various stages in architectural progress, and to note how the builders of the time, while adopting and developing new constructional methods, always succeeded in achieving those qualities of dignity and harmony which their buildings display. Ecclesiastical builders of to-day have surely much to learn from those early craftsmen.

But the native tradition of the Romanesque was slow to die, and in the more remote regions of the West a transitional phase of distinctive characteristics lingered long. In Killaloe Cathedral, Corcomroe Abbey, the Augustinian Abbey at Cong, and Kilmacduagh, we see examples of what Dr. Leask describes as the 'School of the West'. In Clonfert Cathedral—that masterpiece of the Romanesque, so beautifully described in Volume One—he here ascribes the distinctive pair of windows in the Chancel to this period of the Transition.

Perhaps the earliest building of purely Gothic character in Ireland was Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin, on which building work started at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is interesting to note that it was built by English Masons with Somersetshire oolite. The description of this building and the comparative study of St. Patrick's Cathedral are most valuable contributions to Dublin's architectural history.

The Abbey of Graiguenamanagh, dating from the same period as Christchurch, has many points of similarity in detail, but though largely Gothic in character, still displayed some Romanesque features such as the fine Processional doorway. Sad it is to think that, just as with many another ancient building in the country, parts of the extensive claustral ruins at Graiguenamanagh are in use to-day as stores and farm buildings. It is to be hoped that publication of Dr. Leask's book may help to awaken the national conscience towards the need for a greater effort to preserve our historic monuments.

As a development of the Lancet Style, the early Dominican Church at Cashel, built about 1243, has a remarkable row of nine evenly spaced lancets which the author suggests may have inspired the enfilades of piers and lights which were later to become so popular a feature.

By the second half of the thirteenth century the last traces of Romanesque influence had begun to wane, and the period is represented by such fine Gothic Buildings as Kilkenny Cathedral, Ardfert Cathedral, Gowran Church, the Franciscan Church at Buttevant, and the Dominican Churches at Sligo and Roscommon.

With the coming of the fourteenth century there was a slackening of building activity, and most of the work of the period is observed in alterations and additions to existing buildings. The Author says that the earliest example of "switch line" window tracery is seen in the East windows of the three Chapels at Castledermot Friary, dating probably from about 1302. Many fine traceried windows were to follow, the earlier work having rather heavier mullions, such as the South windows of the Choir in Old Leighlin Cathedral and the East windows of the Augustinian Friary at Adare. Later and more elaborate windows are those in the Dominican Churches at Athenry and Kilkenny.

Reference is made to the well known "Irish" stepped battlements, such as those at Kildare Cathedral, a form unknown in England and France, and Dr. Leask interestingly suggests that they may have derived from similar features seen by pilgrims travelling through the Roussillon and Catalan districts of Northern Spain.

The sketches and photographs are admirably chosen to illustrate the text, but if one could voice a regret it would be that the number of marginal sketches—a beautiful feature which Dr. Leask made so peculiarly his own in his "Irish Castles"—has had in this work, as the Author points out, to be reduced to the essential minimum. Throughout the book the placing of the buildings in their context of time and Architectural development is excellent, and the manner in which the text

carries the story down the centuries is something of a literary achievement.

But perhaps the outstanding value of this book lies in its analytical approach to the building technique of the time. For Dr. Leask is first and foremost a practising Architect, one who not only can appreciate the merit of architectural design, but who can understand and analyse the basic constructional forms which gave to medieval architecture its quality of dynamic grace and beauty.

In setting on record in his "Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings" what is obviously the result of a lifetime of experience and research on the subject, one feels that Dr. Leask has been engaged on a labour of love, but in so doing he has placed all who are interested in the ancient Architecture of Ireland very deeply in his debt.

F. F.

EARLY CHRISTIAN IRELAND. M. & L. de Paor. London: Thames and Hudson. 1958. 25/-.

O Ríordáin's *Antiquities of the Irish Countryside* is established as the vade-mecum of all who visit early sites in Ireland with intelligent interest but without specialised knowledge. But what is such a visitor to read, after he has seen Clonmacnoise and Monasterboice, and looked at the Tara Brooch and the Cross of Cong in the National Museum? Two of O Ríordáin's pupils have now provided us with the ideal book for such a purpose. *Early Christian Ireland*, by Máire and Liam de Paor, gives a direct account of the everyday life of the people, the monastic life of the saints, the art treasures of the monasteries and palaces, the peaceful relationships with the Roman world, the violent assaults from the Viking world—all in one hundred and seventy short pages. Within such a limit there is no room to set out alternative points of view and discuss their merits; dogmatic statements are made—the Book of Durrow was written in Northumbria, Cormac's Chapel is the earliest building of the Romanesque style in Ireland. But such directness was essential if the narrative thread was not to be lost, and the specialist who wishes to probe more deeply will find a bibliography of one hundred and seventy-six items providing up-to-date information. If the text is brief, this is compensated for by the lavishness of the well-chosen illustrations. There are forty-six gravure plates and thirty-six figures. Some of the plates are brilliant. Never before has the detailed beauty of the Ardagh Chalice, or the sureness of touch in the human face inset in the Killua Castle Shrine been so fully revealed. The authors, the general editor and the publishers are to be congratulated on a very satisfying book.

G. F. M.

SCOTLAND BEFORE HISTORY; Stuart Piggott; Edinburgh (Nelson); 15/-; 1958.

Professor Piggott and his artist collaborator Mr. Keith Henderson have produced a most attractive "long essay" on Scotland's prehistory. The amateur will find his interest carried along by the easy narrative, while the professional will assent to, or quarrel with, the asides thrown out *en route*. We find the loose toga of the Mediterranean ingeniously contrasted with the well-fitting trousers of the cold north-west (p.57). About cremation burials in cemeteries Piggott says (p.64) "Some have no surface indications to-day, though when in use the graves must have been marked in some way to avoid disturbance by later burials"; in country graveyards to-day there is no squeamishness about throwing up the bones of the departed in digging the modern graves—why should we think that our ancestors were more careful? We get a vivid picture of the Celtic world, which in 250 B.C. stretched from Ireland to Asia Minor (p.90).

Mr. Henderson's effective drawings have a fluctuating relevance to the text they illustrate. But his Iron Age pictures, the war trumpet, the god wearing a torque, the idols from Ballachulish and Bernera, convey well the feeling that the gods, as seen by the Celts, were beings full of hatred and contempt for mankind.

G. F. M.

THE STRAFFORD INQUISITION OF COUNTY MAYO (R.I.A. MS. 24 E 15).
Edited by William O'Sullivan. Dublin : Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1958. £1 10s.

A jury of Mayo landowners met at Ballinrobe on 31 July 1635, summoned by Lord Deputy Wentworth (Strafford as he later became) to find the king's title to their county. They dutifully complied and in the course of their proceedings described the ownership of the land during the preceding ten years. A copy of this description, apparently made at the end of the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century, came into the possession of George Petrie, the well-known antiquary, who sold it to the Royal Irish Academy. The text has been carefully and competently edited by Mr. O'Sullivan, with indexes of persons and places and also of subjects—castles and their barbicans, monasteries, fisheries and other items of particular interest.

Read with Dr. Simington's recent *Book of Survey and Distribution for County Mayo* the Strafford Inquisition is a most valuable source for a number of aspects of Mayo life in the seventeenth century. Dr. Simington's text shows the quality and area of the various lands and who owned them in 1641. The Inquisition shows their ownership not only in 1635 but as it had changed over the previous ten years. The purchases and mortgages of Galway merchants can be seen encroaching on the traditional types of ownership. Purchase-prices are given and particulars of mortgages,

many of which took the form of cattle or horses as well as of cash. There are interesting details of payments in kind due to Lord Mayo, for instance 'a beef, forty quarts of butter, a basin of meal and a basin of malt'. Abbey lands are listed with the names of their new owners, and there are many references to manors and mills.

Place-names mostly correspond to those in the Book of Survey and Distribution, but quite a number are to be found only in the Inquisition, and the two sources vary significantly in the forms given to many names. Genealogists will find much to interest them in particulars of dowagers, minors and other details of family relationship. Most of the names are those of old Gaelic families, but there are many branches of Bourkes together with an admixture of Galway 'tribes', Elizabethans such as Bingham and Browne, and such recent intruders as the Boyles.

We should be grateful to the Irish Manuscripts Commission for making available in close succession two valuable sources for the history of Mayo in the seventeenth century—a subject that has so far been altogether neglected and can now be taken up by the local historian.

J. G. S.

SOURCES OF IRISH LOCAL HISTORY: 1st Series. By Thomas P. O'Neill. Library Association of Ireland, Dublin. 1958. 3s. 6d.

About the year 1900 Lord Walter Fitzgerald drew up a short circular for the members of the County Kildare Archaeological Society with the object of encouraging them to write articles on local history; he mentioned a number of likely subjects, and then gave a five-page list of printed sources which they would find useful, comprising the Annals, official records, wills and maps, and some well-known books. As well as being the Society's Hon. Secretary, he wrote a great many articles for their Journal; his list was based on his own experience, and it was a useful guide to the sources then available. When Scott wrote *The Stones of Bray* in 1913 he made a few additions, but not many, in his list of authorities cited.

Now Mr. O'Neill has given us an up-to-date guide to the sources, in which he calls attention to the many works of reference which have been produced since those days, beginning with Kenney's monumental *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, which, to our great loss, was never completed. Incidentally, it is surprising that after the destruction of the Record Office in 1922 so much material is still available; for this we owe a tribute to the work of past generations of scholars. Mr. O'Neill points out that the eight chapters he prints here are not a full guide to the sources; he promises that he will follow this up with a second series. No doubt he will include the important collection of pedigrees which may be seen in Kuno Meyer's publication of the facsimile of the manuscript Rawlinson B 502; the indexes which Meyer has added are very valuable.

Besides the general warning about the evaluation of sources which is given in the introduction, Mr. O'Neill often adds a word of caution about a particular item or about sources of a particular kind—a most useful feature, for the local historian sometimes tends to copy without checking what he has found. A great amount of work has gone into the compiling of these 38 pages, and the booklet can be unhesitatingly recommended.

L. P.

THE HIGH CROSSES OF WESTERN OSSORY. By Helen M. Roe. Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1958. pp. 43. 3/-.

Although the two magnificent sculptured crosses at Ahenny, Co. Tipperary, are relatively well known, at least to those with an interest in Irish antiquities, the other crosses which go with them to make the Ossory group tend to escape attention. Miss Helen Roe has, therefore, done a service to the interested tourist and to the professional archaeologist alike by giving, in the booklet under review, a complete description, very fully and beautifully illustrated, of all the monuments in this well defined group at the foot of Slievenaman. There are seven crosses—at Ahenny, Kilkieran, Killamery, Kilree—as well as a shaft carved in a similar manner at Tybroughney. The group as a whole is discussed first and then the author deals with each site in turn, giving what is known of it in history and legend and then clearly and systematically describing the crosses and their decoration.

In her description of the figured scenes, which are subordinate in these crosses to abstract ornament, Miss Roe's approach is excellent, for although she presents the various interpretations which have been advanced by local tradition and scholarly speculation she points out that these carvings are part of an illustrative art widespread in the early medieval Christian world from Scotland to Byzantium. Her approach to dating is equally reasonable and the author places the crosses in their obvious cultural context of eighth century Irish art. A short bibliography indicates further reading and here one might suggest the addition of the paper by the late Professor Ó Ríordáin on 'The Genesis of the Celtic Cross'. If one can point to a flaw in the uniformly excellent photographs it is that the omission of the background in the general views of the crosses gives no hint of the charm of their setting. This booklet can be thoroughly recommended and it is excellent value for 3/-.

M. de P.

WESSEX. By J. F. S. Stone. London: Thames and Hudson, 1958. 25/-.

This is Volume 9 in the series "Ancient Peoples and Places" under the general editorship of Dr. Glyn E. Daniel. The book under review maintains the high standard of the series in scholarship and lavishness of illustration (72 plates, 17 text figures and 5 maps). The marginal

references to the illustrations will be appreciated and, if in a few cases (pp. 111 and 112) they do not always appear to illustrate the exact point discussed in the text, this is understandable.

Wessex, a natural region in southern England, centred on Salisbury Plain, has ever been the forcing-bed of British prehistory. Geologically, it is open, chalk country, ideal for primitive agriculture, an area of easy settlement. From Mesolithic times onwards, because of its excellent riverine and coastal communications, it straddled the great trade route from the Aegean to the Atlantic coast. Thus, although lacking in the basic raw materials and without a great industrial tradition, Wessex, owing to its unique position, became a major entrepôt while its people waxed prosperous as a "nation of shopkeepers", traders rather than heroes.

To carry the story of so rich an area over eight thousand years within the scope of 150 or so pages, must, inevitably, mean some sacrifice of detail. Within the confines of Wessex are six of the great causewayed camps (including the type site, Windmill Hill), one hundred and sixty Long Barrows or family tombs (ten actually within a two-mile radius of Stonehenge), countless ritual sites and "henges" and six thousand Round Barrows, and, in addition, Stonehenge and Avebury.

Dr. Stone has done an excellent job of synthesis, well set out with a selective and up-to-the-minute bibliography for the serious student. The general reader will rejoice in a text unencumbered by distracting footnotes and will find more than ample compensation in the intelligent "notes on the plates" at the end of the book. Chapters VII and VIII on Stonehenge, summarised from Atkinson's recent book, and the disentanglement of the various constructional stages of the great temple, read like a detective story. It is worth noting in passing that C.14 dating of Stonehenge I, 1848 ± 275 B.C., gives a fairly generous margin of error. The best that can be claimed for it is that it allows the archaeologically determined date of 1900—1700 B.C. to fit comfortably within its termini.

Piggott's researches on barrow burials some twenty years ago, when he isolated and defined one of the most remarkable episodes in British prehistory, namely, the Wessex Culture of the Early Bronze Age, is lucidly treated in Chapter IX. Irish readers will feel at home in this period. It was a time of close contacts with Ireland and Irish influence is strikingly evident in the metal types. Finally, Dr. Stone's remarks on the faience trade (pp. 115 ff.), on which he was an authority, will interest Irish students. A slight ripple of this Bronze Age export-trade from the Aegean world is felt in Ireland, first, by the discovery of a single bead of faience in a grave at Ballyduff, Co. Wexford, and in more dramatic form by the finding of five segmented beads in a necklace around the neck of a youth during the late Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin's excavation on the Mound of the Hostages at Tara in 1956.

P. J. H.

JOURNAL OF THE CORK HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Part I—Vol. LXII, No. 195. January—June, 1957. Part II—Vol. LXII, No. 196. July—December, 1957.

The opening article in Part I of the Journal is Castle Inch, Co. Cork, by E. M. Fahy, M.A. This article is the second of a series dealing with the ancient monuments damaged or destroyed in the Lee Valley as a result of the Hydro-electric Development Scheme. John T. Collins publishes a number of extracts from the thirteenth volume of Calendars of the Papal Letters to England, Scotland and Ireland, which deal with church administration in Cork and the neighbouring counties from 1471 to 1484, and adds some explanatory comments. Part I: 1803—1826, of an account of the Royal Cork Institution is given by Margaret MacSweeney and Joseph Reilly. Canon Cahalane publishes a Supplement to 'The Testament of John de Wynchodon of Cork (1306)', which contributes further points relating to the churches, the clergy, the recluse and leper hospitals. The full Latin text of the 'Testament', a translation into English, and annotations on various points of interest, were published in the last number of the Journal by Mr. Denis O'Sullivan. Extracts from the Register of the Boys of St. Stephen's Hospital, Corke, covering admissions from 1773 to 1802 are published by M. V. Conlon. This issue of the Journal contains an Obituary Notice of the late Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin by Michael J. O'Kelly.

The final article in the series dealing with the antiquities damaged or destroyed in the Lee Valley as a result of the Hydro-electric Development Scheme is given in Part II of the Journal. In it E. M. Fahy, M.A. deals with Inishleena, a supposed early monastery, a fulacht fiadh at Mashanaglas, standing stones at Carrigadrochid and Dunisky and a bullán at Macloneigh. The concluding part of the article on the Royal Cork Institution, Part II: 1826—1849, is given by Margaret MacSweeney and Joseph Reilly. J. T. Collins publishes Gleanings from Old Cork Papers, and there is an interesting paper on the Art and Mystery of Brewing (in Cork) by W. H. Welply.

REPORTORIUM NOVUM. Dublin Diocesan Historical Record. Volume II. No. 1. 1957-8.

The opening article of this issue of Reportorium Novum is an account of Dublin Diocesan Archives by Mgr. Michael J. Curran. These Dublin Records have been transferred from Archbishop's House to more spacious and suitable accommodation in the new wing of Clonliffe College. Professor Joseph Szövényfi, in the Anglo-Norman Conquest of Ireland and St. Patrick, discusses the episode in Jocelin's Life of St. Patrick which links Dublin with Ireland's National Apostle. An account and description of a MS. in Cambridge University Library which formerly belonged to the medieval chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin are given by Geoffrey Hand.

From Manuscript Sources relating to the Liturgy in Dublin, 1200—1500, Fr. William Hawkes reconstructs, in part at least, the particular forms the Liturgy took, both in the diocese and in a few of the more important religious foundations in Dublin, over a period of some three hundred years. There is an interesting account of the Holy Wells of County Dublin by Caoimhín Ó Danachair. Catholic Families of the Pale by Rev. John Kingston include the Fitzwilliams of Merrion, Talbot de Malahide, the Fagans of Feltrim, and the Plunketts of Portmarnock. An alphabetical list of priests who laboured in the parishes of the Archdiocese of Dublin during the 17th century is published by Rev. W. M. O'Riordan. The Parish of Ballymore Eustace, 1791, by Rev. William Hawkes, gives interesting information about the dedications and patron-days of the old churches in the parish, the location, extent and boundaries of the union, as well as some religious and educational statistics. A well-deserved tribute to Dr. Cornelius Nary, parish priest of St. Michan's from 1703 to 1738, during the worst of the Penal days, is given by Rev. John Meagher in Glimpses of 18th Century Dublin Priests. Instructions, Admonitions, etc., of Archbishop Carpenter, 1770—1786, by Mgr. Curran, cover the whole period of the Archbishop's episcopate from his consecration in 1770 to within eight weeks of his death in 1786. Cuireann an t-Athair Tomás Ó Fiaich i gcló Dán ar an Chléir i bPríosún i mBaile Átha Cliath—1708. An t-Athair Peadar Mac Suibhne has articles on the Early Cullen Family, and Other Cullen Tombstones. Notes and Queries include: the Heraldic Practice of the Archbishops of Dublin, Roger Nottingham, a Baptismal Certificate from St. Audoen's, 1677, Dr. Michael Moore, Dr. Troy's Baptism, Dr. Carpenter's Birthplace, Crottipatrick, and Dublin Ecclesiastical Centenaries, 1957—1958.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH CATHOLIC HISTORICAL COMMITTEE 1956 & 1957. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd., 50 Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin. Price 2/- per issue.

"The Church in Ireland in the Fifteenth Century" in the 1956 issue, consists of five papers: "Diocesan Organization: Kerry", by Very Rev. J. O'Connell, P.P., "Diocesan Organization: Clonfert," by Rev. Patrick Egan, C.C., "Diocesan Organization: Cloyne," by Rev. Denis Buckley, "Mediaeval Cathedral Chapters," by Geoffrey Hand, M.A., and "Summing-up," by Rev. Patrick J. Corish, M.A., D.D. "Irish Ecclesiastical History and the Papal Archives" comprises: "Introduction," by Rev. Patrick J. Corish, M.A., D.D., "The Archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide," by Rev. Benignus Millet, O.F.M., and "The Archives of the Nunziatura di Fiandra," by Rev. Cathaldus Giblin, O.F.M. In the 1957 issue "The Cura Animarum in the Seventeenth Century" contains the following papers: "The Irish Colleges in Europe and the Counter-Reformation," by Rev. John Brady, B.A., "The Reorganization of the

Irish Church, 1603-41," by Rev. Patrick J. Corish, M.A., D.D., "The Irish Franciscan Mission to Scotland, 1619-47," by Rev. Cathaldus Giblin, O.F.M., and "Sources for the History of the Clergy of a Diocese: Seventeenth-Century Clogher," by Rev. Patrick Gallagher, B.A. This issue concludes with "A Handlist of Irish Diocesan Histories." In it are assembled in alphabetical order of the Catholic dioceses of today printed works and it includes works dealing with the history of dioceses of the Church of Ireland where these contain relevant matter.

PROCEEDINGS

July to December, 1958.

Meetings of the Society were held as follows:—

5. *July 4, 1958.*—Quarterly Meeting at the Technical School, Kilkenny, at 8 o'clock p.m. Chairman: G. F. Mitchell, M.A., F.T.C.D., *President*. One member was advanced to fellowship, and one fellow and eight members were elected.

A symposium on the sites to be visited during the summer excursion was held at which the speakers were Dr. H. G. Leask, Mrs. Kenealy, Mrs. Lanigan, Miss H. M. Roe, Mr. P. F. Nyhan, Miss E. Prendergast, Mrs. Healy, Mr. P. J. Hartnett and Mr. Owen O'Kelly.

Before the meeting a Civic Reception to Kilkenny was accorded to the Society by the Mayor and Corporation and the Society was welcomed on behalf of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society by Mrs. M. M. Phelan, *Vice-President*.

6. *September 23, 1958.*—Quarterly Meeting at the Society's House at 8 o'clock p.m. Chairman: District Justice Liam Price, *Past President*. Three members were elected.

A. T. Lucas, *Hon. Gen. Secretary*, delivered an illustrated lecture entitled "Furze and its Uses: an Adventure in Rural Economics."

7. *November 4, 1958.*—Ordinary meeting at the Society's House at 8 o'clock p.m. Chairman: G. F. Mitchell, M.A., F.T.C.D., *President*.

A lecture-recital on the Music of Carolan was given by Dr. Donal O'Sullivan, *Fellow*, with Miss Veronica Kennedy, soprano, and Miss Sheila Larchet, harpist.

8. *December 9, 1958.*—Statutory Meeting at the Society's House at 8 o'clock p.m. Chairman: G. F. Mitchell, M.A., F.T.C.D., *President*. Seven members were elected.

Vacancies were declared for the offices of President, Hon. General Secretary, 2 Hon. Treasurers and 3 Members of Council.

Professor M. J. O'Kelly, *Vice-President*, delivered an illustrated lecture entitled "A Gallery Grave at Shanballydmond."

The Summer Excursion was held from July 4 to 8 with Kilkenny City as centre. The Autumn Excursion was held on September 27 in North County Dublin and Co. Meath. The details of these excursions will be found in the Report of the Council for 1958.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1958

PRESIDENT ... G. F. Mitchell, M.A., F.T.C.D.

PAST PRESIDENTS ... Dr. H. G. Leask.
Rev. Dr. John Ryan, S.J.
District Justice Liam Price.

VICE-PRESIDENTS ... Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry (*Ulster*).
Professor M. J. O'Kelly (*Munster*).
Professor R. de Valera (*Leinster*).
Patrick Tohall (*Connacht*).

HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY—A. T. Lucas.

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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND



1959

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The JOURNAL is published half-yearly.

The Annual Subscription for Members of the Society is £2, for Fellows £3, payable to the Hon. Treasurer, 63 Merrion Square, Dublin. Members receive the JOURNAL free, Fellows receive in addition Special Volumes on publication. Single copies of the JOURNAL may be purchased from the Society, from Hodges Figgis and Co., Dublin, or any bookseller. Books for review, papers, notes, and all matter relating to the JOURNAL should be submitted to the Hon. Editor, 63 Merrion Square. All MSS. for publication *should be typed*.



THE SOURCES OF MOORE'S MELODIES

By Veronica ní Chinnéide

In the text and in the appended Tables, a particular Number of the Melodies and the position of a song within that Number are denoted by a roman numeral followed by an arabic numeral. Thus, VIII, 5 means the fifth song in the Eighth Number.

THOMAS MOORE (1779—1852), Irish poet and musician, stands in no need of introduction. His *Irish Melodies* in particular left to his fellow-countrymen an inheritance of untold wonder and delight and brought to Irish music an international recognition and regard which it had hardly enjoyed before his time. His fame, which was already great in his own day, both in Ireland and in the English-speaking world generally, has become even more widespread with time. To-day, against a background of new appreciation and a more real knowledge of Irish traditional music, his achievement has perhaps an even greater significance than heretofore. However, an appraisal of Moore's stature in the history of our music lies beyond the scope of this paper.

In his interesting study of Moore, Mr. H. M. Jones states that 'there is a vast literature on the relation of the *Irish Melodies* to their originals'.¹ This, however, is hardly the case. In 1895, Stanford published his *Irish Melodies of Thomas Moore*, with the sub-title *The Original Airs Restored*. This book unfortunately fell short of its avowed purpose. No comprehensive list of the originals was given. The sources are mentioned in comparatively few cases and these are sometimes wrong—as when Stanford gives Bunting as the source for the tune of 'Let Erin Remember' (II, 8) which appeared in 1807, whereas Bunting's version was not published till 1840. Moffat and Kidson in their invaluable footnotes to Moffat's *Minstrelsy of Ireland* (1897) have corrected many of Stanford's mistakes. They have also given, so far as possible, the sources of those Moore tunes which appear in that book. Finally Dr. Donal O'Sullivan, in editing from the original MSS. the tunes published in Bunting's 1796 and 1809 volumes of Irish music, mentioned in all the appropriate cases Moore's use of those tunes.² This represents the sum of what has been done so far. In this connection I wish to thank Dr. O'Sullivan for suggesting to me the present comprehensive piece of research and for his kindness in answering my queries throughout the progress of the investigation.

Moore's 'Irish Melodies' were published in ten successive Numbers followed by a Supplement. The First Number was issued in 1807 and the

¹Howard M. Jones: *The Harp That Once* (Yale, 1937), p. 338.

²*The Bunting Collection of Irish Folk Music and Songs*, Parts I—VI (1927—1939) and see Part VI, p. 135, Index VI.

Copy in Moore's hand of 'The Fortune-teller' published in the eighth number of the *Melodies* (1821).

THE SOURCES OF MOORE'S MELODIES

By Veronica ní Chinnéide

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Tenth with a Supplement in 1834, the other Numbers appearing at varying intervals over the intervening years.³ With regard to the initiation of the project, Croker states that the copyright of the First Number of the *Melodies* was purchased from the author by James Power the publisher for fifty pounds. He adds: 'So successful did the speculation prove to be that Mr. Power and his brother soon afterwards entered into an agreement to pay Mr. Moore £500 per annum, for seven years, to produce in each year another Number of the Irish Melodies, with a few single songs in addition'.⁴ In fact the contemplated seven years became extended from various causes by twenty years since, as we have seen, the concluding Number did not appear until 1834. The brothers Power were both publishers, James in London at no. 34, Strand, and William in Dublin at no. 4, Westmoreland Street. Further references to 'Power' in this paper are to James, unless William is specifically mentioned.

Each Number contains twelve 'melodies', i.e. songs with airs. In the Third Number one song, 'Ill Omens', is set successively to two different airs. In the Sixth Number, two airs are combined for the song 'Oh! where's the slave?', and the Supplement contains four. The total number of tunes is therefore 126. In each case Moore gives the title of the original air or calls it 'Unknown'; 120 have titles and six are marked 'Unknown'. Where titles are given they prove to have been copied fairly faithfully, including those which, being written in a rough phonetic script intended to represent the original Irish, may have presented some difficulty, e.g., 'Thamama hulla' or 'Cummilum'.

My task has been to attempt to trace to its source every air used by Moore. In some cases I have not succeeded; in a few others the best that can be done is to suggest two or three alternatives.

The sources are both printed and manuscript. In the Advertisement to the first three Numbers of the *Melodies*, Power appealed to the public for airs. His request met with such response that in the Dedication prefixed to the Tenth Number (1834) Moore was writing of 'the immense mass of Irish music which has been for years past accumulating in my hands.' None of this however is in Moore's library which was presented to the Royal Irish Academy by his widow; and, though this library consists of upwards of eight hundred volumes, only three contain Irish airs and only one of these, Walker's *Irish Bards*, is among our source-books.

The origin of some of the manuscript sources is known. Petrie states⁵ that he himself, through a friend Richard Wrightson, sent three separate batches of tunes to the poet as early as 1807 or 1808 and that some of these appeared for the first time in the *Irish Melodies*. He adds that he

³The dates have been taken from Andrew Gibson's *Thomas Moore and his First Editions* (1904).

⁴*Notes from the Letters of Thomas Moore to his Music Publisher, James Power . . . with an Introductory Letter from Thomas Crofton Croker, Esq.* (c. 1856). (Hereafter cited as *Letters to Power*.)

⁵George Petrie: *Ancient Music of Ireland* (1855), Introduction, p. viii.

gave a much larger number to Francis Holden, whose father Smollet Holden published them in his collection,⁶ whence they were taken by Moore. Among these Petrie names 'Lough Sheelin', 'Arrah, my dear Eveleen' and 'Luggela' (VI, 8, II, 9 and VI, 3) ('Luggela', however, does not appear in Holden's book). Lastly, Petrie mentions that he sent Moore several other airs through William Power, the tune for 'You remember Ellen' (V, 11) being one of these.

Moore also received airs from a certain Dr. Kelly, who has not been identified.^{6a} The airs were probably contained in a manuscript book sent by him to James Power. There is evidence that at least two airs from this book were used by Moore. One of them is 'Sly Patrick', made famous by Moore's beautiful lyric 'Has sorrow thy young days shaded' (VI, 2). Moore states in a footnote to that song: 'To the gentleman who favoured me with this air I am indebted for many other old and beautiful melodies from which, if ever we resume this work, I shall be able to make a very interesting selection.' Early in 1815 Moore writes to Power asking him to 'procure the name of "Has sorrow thy young days", as I have just hunted through all my music for Kelly's book and cannot find it.'⁷ It is a reasonable inference that Dr. Kelly is the source of this tune.

The second tune is 'Cushla ma chree', to which the poet wrote his hardly less celebrated 'Come o'er the sea' (VI, 1). Here the evidence is supplied by a combination of three extracts from the *Letters to Power*. Writing in July, 1814, Moore refers to 'Kelly's book', which 'contains no less than four or five very pretty airs for our purpose, and on Friday I expect to send you one of them with words'. A few days afterwards he writes, 'I have done "Cuislah ma chree" after many trials'. Later (January, 1815), the poet asks Power for 'the correct spelling of "Cuishlah ma chree" according to Dr. Kelly'.⁸ Here again one may conclude that Kelly is the source; and it is significant that the two airs are found side by side, being the first two Melodies in the Sixth Number.

In this same Sixth Number Moore has a tune, 'O Patrick, fly from me', which he used for his song 'When first I met thee' (VI, 4). He has the following footnote: 'This very beautiful Irish air was sent to me by a gentleman of Oxford. There is much pathos in the original words, and both words and music have all the features of authenticity.' In all likelihood the gentleman referred to is one Mr. Malchair,⁹ mentioned in

⁶S. Holden: *Collection of Old-Established Irish Slow and Quick Tunes*, Books I and II (1806).

^{6a}He may perhaps be the Dr. Kelly to whom five airs are acknowledged in the Petrie MSS. The fact that all five are from Mayo suggests a connection with that county.

⁷*Letters to Power*, p. 48.

⁸*Op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37, 48.

⁹Probably a misprint for 'Malclair' (Norman-French *Malclerc*). Woulfe (*Sloinnite Gaedheal is Gall*) states that persons of that name have been settled in County Tipperary since the XIV century.

Crotch's Specimens.¹⁰ Among the 'Specimens' in this important work is a batch of no less than sixty-one 'Irish Airs', two of which are acknowledged to Malchair by Crotch, who refers to him (p. 3 of Preface) as 'Mr. Malchair of Oxford who has made National Music his study'. Moore and Crotch were contemporaries and references to his 'Specimens' occur in the poet's correspondence.¹¹ It seems therefore not unlikely that Malchair is Moore's 'Oxford gentleman'.

The references in *Russell* would seem to indicate that though Moore toyed with the idea of using some of the 'Irish Airs' in *Crotch* for the *Melodies*, he did not in fact do so. At all events I have examined them with due care but with negative results.

Another contributor may have been William Power, through whom, it will be recalled, Petrie gave airs to Moore. About 1813, Moore refers to William Power's 'boasted Connemara stock of airs',¹² and in the following year he mentions in a letter to James that he had written to his brother 'thanking him for the Irish airs'.¹³ In the absence of more specific data none of the untraced airs can be ascribed to this source.

Last and perhaps most important of the contributors is the celebrated Cork antiquary Thomas Crofton Croker (1798—1854). Writing to Power in May, 1818 at the time he was preparing the Seventh Number, Moore states: 'I have got a most valuable correspondent and contributor for our future Melodies—a Mr. Croker, near Cork, who has just sent me thirty-four Airs, and a very pretty drawing of a celebrated spot in his neighbourhood!'¹⁴ The gift is alluded to in a footnote to the Advertisement to the Seventh Number but, apparently by inadvertence, Moore omits Croker's name. Later in the same year (2nd November) Croker visited the poet at his Wiltshire home and Moore tells Power that he gave him 'some national airs copied out by himself in the most beautiful manner.'¹⁵ These must have been additional to the thirty-four already mentioned.

In a further letter to Power in April, 1819 Moore says, 'I send you the song from Croker's book',¹⁶ meaning a song which he had written to one of the airs mentioned above. The only untraced air in the Eighth Number (the one published next after this) is 'My husband's a journey to Portugal gone', and it may therefore be from Croker's collection. In this connection it may be noted that among Croker's published works are three which contain traditional Irish melodies, viz., *Researches in the South of Ireland* (1824), *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (1825-8) and *Legends of the Lakes* (1829). These have respectively

¹⁰William Crotch: *Specimens of Various Styles of Music referred to in a Course of Lectures read at Oxford and London* (c. 1804), Preface, p. 3.

¹¹*The Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, edited by Lord John Russell (1853-56), vol. I, pp. 324 and 339; vol. II, p. 9.

¹²*Russell*, vol. I, p. 339.

¹³*Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 11.

¹⁴*Letters to Power*, p. 65.

¹⁵*Russell*, vol. II, pp. 208-9.

¹⁶*Letters to Power*, p. 74.

five tunes, one tune and six tunes. None of them, however, was used by Moore.

In view of all these possible contributors, it is not surprising that a number of the airs named by Moore remain unidentified. The great majority of them, however, prove to have been taken not from manuscripts but from printed books. Only a few of these are indicated by Moore himself in the Prefaces and footnotes of his work. In a footnote to 'Tho' the last glimpse of Erin' (I, 9) Moore quotes a passage from Walker's *Irish Bards* about the Coolin, thus directing us to the air of that name and to the version given by Walker which he used. In the case of 'Oh! where's the slave?' (VI, 7) the poet states, also in a footnote, that he combined two tunes, the second of which he took from the *Hibernian Muse*. And in the case of 'Sing, sweet harp' (X, 2) it is similarly stated that the air has been already printed in Smith's *Select Melodies*.

The only other mention of specific published collections is found in a footnote to the Advertisement to the First and Second Numbers. It is there acknowledged by Moore (or possibly by Power) 'that the public are indebted to Mr. Bunting for a very valuable collection of Irish Music, and that the patriotic genius of Miss Owenson has been employed upon some of our finest airs.' The reference to Miss Owenson led me to her *Twelve Hibernian Melodies*, where I found the source of 'The mountain sprite' (IX, 6). As for Edward Bunting, though he is by a long way the collector laid most heavily under contribution by Moore, his reward so far as Moore was concerned was the single and wholly inadequate mention of his name just quoted.

The poet's treatment of his next most important contributor is equally difficult to justify. This was Smollet Holden, an eminent Dublin band-master and, like Bunting, a contemporary of Moore. Holden published in two volumes in 1806 his *Collection of Irish Slow and Quick Tunes*. Petrie tells us 'it was from this collection . . . that Moore derived many of those airs which his poetry has consecrated and made familiar to the world.' In fact no less than twenty-nine of Moore's melodies are traceable to this work. But Moore himself nowhere mentions Holden, though in at least two cases one would have expected him to do so. At the end of the Third and Fourth Numbers he prints *notatim* from Holden 'Thamama hulla' and 'Cean dubh delish' respectively, having used them in a modified form for two of his songs (III, 1 and IV, 11). Since he had gone thus far, the omission of all mention of Holden's *Collection* is indeed hard to understand. He acted similarly in the case of one of Bunting's tunes, which he used for a song in the Third Number and then printed at the end without mention of source (III, 6).

In the Advertisement to the First Number of the Melodies, Power quotes extensively from a letter written by Moore explaining the spirit in which he approached his great undertaking. In this letter the poet

expresses his admiration for the melodies of Ireland and adds: 'If Burns had been an Irishman . . . his heart would have been proud of such music, and his genius would have made it immortal.' The format and general style of the *Melodies* is a close imitation of Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, issued serially in Edinburgh with Burns as the principal contributor of the words. It would thus seem that Moore was fired with an ambition to do for Ireland what Burns had done for Scotland. A consideration of these facts prompted me to examine Thomson's collections with some care—a care which proved justified by the result.

The last of the printed sources to which we know from Moore's own writings that the poet had access is the late eighteenth century ballad opera *The Poor Soldier*, by William Shield. Moore tells us in his diary that about 1790 he and a number of other young people 'got up theatricals and on one occasion performed O'Keefe's farce of *The Poor Soldier*'.¹⁷ John O'Keefe was Shield's librettist and most of the tunes in *The Poor Soldier* are Irish. The airs from an opera in which he had taken part would naturally occur to Moore's mind, and in fact three airs used in the *Melodies* originated in *The Poor Soldier*. There is also an air from Shield's *Rosina* and another from his *Robin Hood*.

Moore's remaining printed sources need not be mentioned here. They are included in the complete list printed below (Table I).

Any detailed comment on the much debated question of Moore's treatment of the traditional tunes used by him would be outside the scope of this paper. Two points however may be briefly alluded to. The first is the scrupulous regard shown by Moore in making his selection that the tunes he chose should be Irish. The tune of 'Eveleen's Bower' might be disputed but, says Moore, 'they who are best acquainted with national melodies pronounce it to be Irish' (II, 7). He suspects that 'Kitty of Coleraine' is 'a modern English imitation' and so he 'thought it right to give an authentic Irish air to the same words' (III, 5). Of the airs chosen from Scottish books, Moore was careful to select only those marked 'Irish'. The second point is Moore's candour with his readers in indicating by means of occasional footnotes (however inadequately) his method of treating his originals and in three cases reproducing those originals as an Appendix to the relevant Number.

Another matter of interest is the manner in which, when writing his lyrics, the poet was influenced by the title of a particular source-tune or by the first line of a pre-existing poem written to that tune. For example 'The Song of Sorrow' inspired him to write his 'Weep on, weep on, your hour is past' (IV, 3) and 'The Lamentation of Aughrim' gave rise to 'Forget not the field where they perished' (VII, 10). As regards first lines, 'By this fountain's flow'ry side' doubtless suggested 'By that lake whose gloomy shore' (IV, 6) and the well-known 'I wish I was on yonder hill' gave rise to 'I wish I was by that dim lake' (IX, 10). The reader will

¹⁷Russell, vol. I, p. 13.

doubtless notice other instances in Table II; but more interesting than any of these is Moore's treatment of the tune to which he wrote 'Sing, sweet harp' (X, 2). At the source the tune is set to verses stated to be by one William Motherwell and Moore, giving the source, speaks of them as 'not unworthy of its beauty'. The close resemblance between Moore's song and that of Motherwell betrays Moore's indebtedness to the latter. A quotation will make this clear. The following quatrain by Motherwell—

Mournfully! Oh, mournfully
This midnight wind doth sigh,
Like some sweet plaintive melody
Of ages long gone by!

becomes in Moore—

How mournfully the midnight air
Among thy chords doth sigh,
As if it sought some echo there
Of voices long gone by.

Before giving the tabulated results, it remains to indicate the manner in which the investigation has been conducted. Briefly, the task consisted of an examination of the published collections of Irish music which Moore was either known to have used or else could have used having regard to the chronology.

Throughout the examination the criteria have been two in number:

(1) is the tune in Moore identical with or reasonably close to the tune thought to be the source?

(2) are the title and the spelling of the title given by Moore the same as in the source?

If the answer in both cases is 'yes', one may reasonably say that that is where Moore got his tune. Unfortunately the matter was not so simple. In numerous instances there have been cases of two, three or more versions of the tune, none of them identical with Moore's version, with titles showing differences of spelling from that used by Moore and from each other. In these instances I have had to decide according to the probabilities. The exact spelling of the titles thus played a key part in the investigation. For this reason I have retained Moore's precise title and spelling in every case, and where the titles are in roughly phonetic Irish I have not attempted to correct them.

It must be mentioned that six airs gave no help at all as regards title, being marked 'Unknown', but all were eventually traced. They appear under various titles in books known to have been used by Moore and were duly recognized. To give a few examples: the tune used for 'The legacy' (II, 4), although called 'Unknown', is 'The bard's legacy' in Holden's *Collection*—a title which (as in the cases already mentioned) doubtless suggested both the name and the theme of Moore's poem. 'Oh for the swords of former time!' (VII, 12) is also marked 'Unknown', but

the tune was found in Shield's *Poor Soldier*, where it bears the title, 'Dermot's welcome as the may'. The air of 'And doth not a meeting like this make amends' (IX, 5), although not found identically in the various collections, appears in very close variants named 'Round the world for sport' in two likely sources. It has also happened in one instance that an air (IV, 12) published by Moore under a certain title ('The bunch of green rushes that grew at the brim') was not found under that title but appears in a slightly varied form under a different one ('Johny Macgill') in one of the Scottish books that the poet almost certainly used.

There follow four Tables.

TABLE I is a list of Moore's printed sources as ascertained. Each entry is followed in square brackets by the form of citation used in Table II, and by a figure indicating the number of tunes actually or possibly derived from that particular source. All the works except *Brysson* and *Smith* are in the National Library of Ireland. I am indebted to Dr. William Montgomerie for a transcript of one tune from each of these, made from the Wighton Collection in Dundee Public Library.

TABLE II is an annotated list in chronological order of the whole of Moore's Melodies and represents the results of the investigation.

TABLE III is an index of first lines provided for facility of reference. Titles are printed in capitals and are included only when they differ from the first lines.

TABLE IV gives the source-tunes in alphabetical order, those not found being indicated by an asterisk. Names of tunes not given by Moore but appearing in the annotations in Table II are placed in square brackets.

TABLE I. LIST OF MOORE'S PRINTED SOURCES.

- JAMES AIRD. A SELECTION OF SCOTCH, ENGLISH, IRISH AND FOREIGN AIRS. Glasgow, 1782. [*Aird.*] 1 air.
- J. BRYSSON. A CURIOUS SELECTION OF FIFTY TUNES WITH VARIATIONS, TO WHICH IS ADDED UPWARDS OF FIFTY FAVOURITE IRISH AIRS. Edinburgh, c. 1790. [*Brysson.*] 1 air.
- EDWARD BUNTING. ANCIENT IRISH MUSIC. London, [1796]. [*Bunting*, 1796.] 21 airs.
- EDWARD BUNTING. ANCIENT MUSIC OF IRELAND. London, 1809. [*Bunting*, 1809.] 17 airs.
- EDWARD FITZSIMONS AND J. SMITH. IRISH MINSTRELSY. Dublin, 1814. [*Fitzsimons and Smith.*] 1 air.

- HIME'S POCKET BOOK FOR THE GERMAN FLUTE OR VIOLIN. Dublin, c. 1810. [*Hime's Pocket Book.*] 2 airs.
- S. HOLDEN. COLLECTION OF OLD-ESTABLISHED IRISH SLOW AND QUICK TUNES. Books I & II. Dublin, [1806]. [*Holden.*] 29 airs.
- JACKSON'S CELEBRATED IRISH TUNES. Dublin, 1774. [*Jackson.*] 2 airs.
- JAMES JOHNSON. THE SCOTS MUSICAL MUSEUM. Edinburgh, vol. V, 1796. [*Johnson.*] 1 air.
- O'FARRELL'S COLLECTION OF NATIONAL IRISH MUSIC FOR THE UNION PIPES. London, c. 1797-1800. [*O'Farrell's Collection.*] 2 airs.
- O'FARRELL'S POCKET COMPANION FOR THE IRISH OR UNION PIPES. 4 vols. London, c. 1801-10. [*O'Farrell's Pocket Companion.*] 9 airs.
- SIDNEY OWENSON. TWELVE ORIGINAL HIBERNIAN MELODIES. London, 1805. [*Owenson.*] 1 air.
- WILLIAM SHIELD. THE POOR SOLDIER, 1782; ROSINA, 1783; ROBIN HOOD, 1784. London. [*Cited as Shield, followed by the name of the opera.*] 5 airs.
- R. A. SMITH. SELECT MELODIES. Edinburgh, 1827. [*Smith.*] 1 air.
- S., A. AND P. THOMPSON. THE HIBERNIAN MUSE. London, c. 1786. [*Hibernian Muse.*] 6 airs.
- GEORGE THOMSON. A SELECT COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL IRISH AIRS. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1814 & 1816. [*Thomson's Irish Airs.*] 1 air.
- GEORGE THOMSON. A SELECT COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL SCOTTISH AIRS. 4 sets. Edinburgh, 1793-7 [*Thomson's Scottish Airs.*] 8 airs.
- GEORGE THOMSON. A SELECT COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL SCOTTISH AIRS. 4 vols. Edinburgh, 1803-5. (A re-issue of the foregoing, with omissions and additions.) [*Thomson's Scottish Airs.*] 3 airs.
- JOSEPH COOPER WALKER. HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE IRISH BARDS. 1st edition. Dublin, 1786. [*Walker.*] 2 airs.
- DANIEL WRIGHT. ARIA DI CAMERA. London, c. 1730. [*Wright.*] 1 air.

TABLE II. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE MELODIES WITH THEIR SOURCES.

FIRST NUMBER. 1807.

1. *Title:* Go where glory waits thee.
First line: same.
Tune: The maid of the valley.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 26: The maid of the valley.
2. *Title:* War Song.
First line: Remember the glories of Brien the brave.
Tune: Molly Macalpin.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 24: Molly Macalpin.
3. *Title:* Erin! the tear and the smile in thine eyes.
First line: same.
Tune: Aileen Aroon.
Source: the versions of this world-famous air are numerous, but there seems little doubt that Moore's version, less ornamented than most others, was taken by him from Thomson's *Scotish Airs*, set IV (1797), p. 92. It is there set to Burns's song, 'Had I a cave on some wild distant shore', the name of the air being given as 'Robin Adair'.
4. *Title:* Oh! breathe not his name.
First line: Oh! breathe not his name—let it sleep in the shade.
Tune: The brown maid.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 18: The brown maid.
5. *Title:* When he who adores thee.
First line: When he who adores thee has left but the name.
Tune: The fox's sleep.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 1: The foxes sleep.
6. *Title:* The harp that once thro' Tara's halls.
First line: same.
Tune: Gramachree.
Source: Thomson's *Scotish Airs*, set I (1793), p. 18; or, less probably, *O'Farrell's Collection* (c. 1797-1800), p. 46. The title in both cases is 'Gramachree'.
7. *Title:* Fly not yet.
First line: Fly not yet, 'tis just the hour.
Tune: Planxty Kelly.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 11: Planxty Kelly—Carolan.
8. *Title:* Oh! think not my spirits are always as light.
First line: same.
Tune: John O'Reilly the active.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 27: John O'Reilly the active.
9. *Title:* Tho' the last glimpse of Erin with sorrow I see.
First line: same.
Tune: Coulin.
Source: Probably *Walker* (1786), Appendix IX, no. X: Coulin, Walker's note on the air being actually quoted by Moore. But it is possible that Moore was also influenced by the closely related versions in Thomson's *Scotish Airs*, set IV (1797), p. 99: Coolun, and *Holden* (1806), vol. I, p. 28: Coolun with variations.
10. *Title:* Rich and rare were the gems she wore.
First line: same.
Tune: The summer is coming.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 4: The summer is coming.
11. *Title:* As a beam o'er the face of the waters may glow.
First line: same.
Tune: The young man's dream.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 10: The young man's dream.

12. *Title:* The meeting of the waters.
First line: There is not in the wide world a valley so sweet.
Tune: The old head of Denis.
Source: not found.

SECOND NUMBER. 1807.

1. *Title:* St. Senanus and the lady.
First line: Oh! haste, and leave this sacred isle.
Tune: The brown thorn.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 2: The brown thorn.
2. *Title:* How dear to me the hour.
First line: How dear to me the hour when day-light dies.
Tune: The twisting of the rope.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 10: The twisting of the rope.
3. *Title:* Take back the virgin page.
First line: same.
Tune: Dermott.
Source: *Hibernian Muse* (c. 1786), p. 19: Dermot.
4. *Title:* The legacy.
First line: When in death I shall calm recline.
Tune: Unknown.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 39: The bard's legacy.
5. *Title:* The dirge.
First line: How oft has the benshee cried!
Tune: The dear black maid.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 22: The dear black maid.
6. *Title:* We may roam thro' this world.
First line: We may roam thro' this world like a child at a feast.
Tune: Garyone.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. I, p. 34: Garrione.
7. *Title:* Eveleen's bower.
First line: Oh! weep for the hour.
Tune: 'Unknown', but Moore adds the following as a footnote: 'Our claim to this air has been disputed; but they, who are best acquainted with national melodies, pronounce it to be Irish. It is generally known by the name of "The pretty girl of Derby, O!"'
Source: either *Brysson* (c. 1790), p. 22: Peggy Derby or Dandy O, or *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion* (c. 1801-10), IV, p. 105: The Dandy O.
8. *Title:* Let Erin remember the days of old.
First line: same.
Tune: The red fox.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 18: The red dog or fox.
9. *Title:* The song of Fionnuala.
First line: Silent, oh Moyle! be the roar of thy water.
Tune: Arrah, my dear Eveleen.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. I, p. 21: Arrah my dear Eveleen.
 (Given to Holden by Petrie—see p. 111 *supra*.)
10. *Title:* Come, send round the wine.
First line: Come, send round the wine, and leave points of belief.
Tune: We brought the summer with us.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 33: We brought the summer with us.
11. *Title:* Sublime was the warning.
First line: Sublime was the warning which liberty spoke.
Tune: The black joke.
Source: *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion* (c. 1801-10), II, p. 92: The black joke, with variations. Irish; or, less probably, *Hibernian Muse* (c. 1786), p. 65: The black joke.

12. *Title:* Believe me, if all those endearing young charms.

First line: same.

Tune: My lodging is on the cold ground.

Source: Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, set IV (1797), p. 76: My lodging is on the cold ground; or, less probably, *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion* (c. 1801-10), I, p. 74: My lodging in on the cold ground.

In an exhaustive note on the tune, Chappell gives reasons for his opinion that it is English, not Irish (*Popular Music of the Olden Time*, II, p. 525 *et seq.*).

THIRD NUMBER. 1810.

1. *Title:* Erin! oh Erin!

First line: Like the bright lamp that lay in Kildare's holy shrine ('shrine' altered in subsequent editions to 'fane', which is required by the rhyme).

Tune: Thamama hulla. Moore adds the following as a footnote: 'There are various settings of this air; that which differs most [*? recte* least] from the set we have adopted will be found at the end of this number.'

Source: the setting at the end of the Number is taken *notatim* from *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 35: Thamama hulla. It is closer to the one used by Moore than any other that has been found, under whatever title; hence the tentative correction made in Moore's statement quoted above.

2. *Title:* Drink to her.

First line: Drink to her, who long.

Tune: Heigh ho! my Jacky.

Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 27: Heigho my Jockey.

3. *Title:* Oh! blame not the bard.

First line: Oh! blame not the bard, if he fly to the bowers.

Tune: Kitty Tyrrel.

Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 5: Kitty Tyrrel.

Title: While gazing on the moon's light.

First line: same.

Tune: Oonagh.

Source: either *Johnson*, vol. V (1796), no. 447, to a song 'written for this work by Robert Burns.—An Irish air;', or Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, vol. IV (1805), p. 190, to the same song by Burns. 'Irish air—Oonagh'. Moore's version is closer to *Johnson*; on the other hand the title is in *Thomson* but not in the other.

5. *Title:* Ill omens.

First line: When daylight was yet sleeping under the billow.

Tunes: (a) Kitty of Coleraine;

(b) Paddy's Resource.

Moore adds the following as a footnote: 'Having some reason to suspect that "Kitty of Coleraine" is but a modern English imitation of our style, I have thought it right to give an authentic Irish air to the same words, without, however, omitting the former melody, for which the words were originally written, and to which, I believe, they are best adapted.'

Source: (a) *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion* (c. 1801-10), IV, p. 117: Kitty of Coleraine.

(b) not found.

6. *Title:* Before the battle.

First line: By the hope within us springing.

Tune: 'The fairy-queen'. In a footnote Moore broadly indicates the differences between the air as used by him and its original, adding that the melody 'in its original form' is printed at the end of the Number.

Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 3: The fairy queen—by Carolan: also printed almost *notatim* at the end of the Number, though not strictly 'in its original form' as stated by Moore.

7. *Title:* After the battle.
First line: Night clos'd around the conqueror's way.
Tune: Thy fair bosom.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 11: Thy fair bosom.
8. *Title:* Oh! 'tis sweet to think.
First line: Oh! 'tis sweet to think that where'er we rove.
Tune: Thady, you gander.
Source: not found.
9. *Title:* The Irish peasant to his mistress.
First line: Thro' grief and thro' danger thy smile hath cheer'd my way!
Tune: I once had a true-love.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 10: I once had a true love.
'A tune of the glen of Ishmail [Imaal] County Wicklow.'
10. *Title:* On music.
First line: When through life unblest we rove.
Tune: Banks of Banna.
Source: Thomson's *Scotish Airs*, set I (1793), p. 25: The banks of Banna.
11. *Title:* It is not the tear at this moment shed.
First line: same.
Tune: The sixpence.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 7: The sixpence.
12. *Title:* The origin of the harp.
First line: 'Tis believ'd that this harp, which I wake now for thee.
Tune: Gage fane.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 26: Gage fane.

FOURTH NUMBER. 1811.

1. *Title:* Love's young dream.
First line: Oh! the days are gone, when beauty bright.
Tune: The old woman.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 31: The old woman.
2. *Title:* The Prince's Day.
First line: Tho' dark are our sorrows, to-day we'll forget them.
Tune: St. Patrick's Day.
Source: *Hime's Pocket Book* (c. 1810), p. 26: St. Patrick's Day with variations.
3. *Title:* Weep on, weep on.
First line: Weep on, weep on, your hour is past.
Tune: The song of sorrow.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 5: The song of sorrow.
4. *Title:* Lesbia has a beaming eye.
First line: same.
Tune: Nora creina.
Source: *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion* (c. 1801-10), I, p. 60: Nora Creena.
5. *Title:* I saw thy form in youthful prime.
First line: same.
Tune: Domhnall.
Source: Thomson's *Scotish Airs*, set I (1793), p. 15: From thee Eliza, I must go. By Robert Burns. Air—Donald. (Marked 'Irish' in Contents.)
6. *Title:* By that lake, whose gloomy shore.
First line: same.
Tune: The brown Irish girl.
Source: *Hibernian Muse* (c. 1786), p. 10: The Irish girl in *Rosina*. (The reference is to Shield's opera of that name (1783), p. 20, where the old name of the air is not given and the song begins 'By this Fountain's flow'ry side.') In spite of Moore's title for the tune he may have taken it direct from the opera, since it looks as if the opening line of his song was suggested by the opening line of the song in *Rosina*.

7. *Title:* She is far from the land.
First line: She is far from the land, where her young hero sleeps.
Tune: Open the door.
Source: Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, set I (1793), p. 21: Oh, open the door. (Marked 'Irish' in Contents.)
8. *Title:* Nay, tell me not.
First line: Nay, tell me not, dear! that the goblet drowns.
Tune: Dennis, don't be threatening.
Source: Bunting (1796), p. 11: Dennis don't be threat'ning.
9. *Title:* Avenging and bright.
First line: Avenging and bright fall the swift sword of Erin.
Tune: Crooghan a venee, given by Moore in a footnote as 'Cruachán na Féin[n]e'.
Source: Holden (1806), vol. II, p. 1: Crookaun a venée.
10. *Title:* What the bee is to the flowret.
First line: same.
Tune: The yellow horse.
Source: Bunting (1809), p. 12: Yellow horse.
11. *Title:* Love and the novice.
First line: Here we dwell, in holiest bowers.
Tune: Cean dubh delish.
Source: Holden (1806), vol. II, p. 13: Cean dubh deelish.
 Moore adds the following footnote to his song: 'We have taken the liberty of omitting a part of this air, which appeared to us to wander rather unmanageably out of the compass of the voice. It has been given, however, in its perfect form, at the beginning of the Third Number.' There is some confusion here. The facts are: (a) the air had been used in a piano arrangement as part of the 'Introductory Piece' to the Third Number and (b) it is printed *notatin* from Holden on a separate sheet at the end of the Fourth Number, with Holden's title but no indication of source.
12. *Title:* This life is all chequcr'd with pleasures and woes.
First line: same.
Tune: The bunch of green rushes that grew at the brim.
Source: not found under that title but a version of the air is printed in Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, vol. IV (1805), p. 171: Johnny Macgill.

FIFTH NUMBER. 1813.

1. *Title:* The shamrock.
First line: Through Erin's isle.
Tune: Alley Croker.
Source: *Hibernian Muse* (c. 1786), p. 67: Ally Croker, or, less probably, Thomson's *Scottish Airs*, set IV (1797), p. 93: Alley Croker. (Air marked 'Irish' in Contents.)
2. *Title:* At the mid hour of night.
First line: At the mid hour of night, when stars are weeping I fly.
Tune: Molly, my dear.
Source: Holden (1806), vol. II, p. 29: Molly my dear.
3. *Title:* One bumper at parting!
First line: One bumper at parting!—tho' many.
Tune: Moll roe in the morning.
Source: not found.
4. *Title:* 'Tis the last rose of summer.
First line: same.
Tune: Groves of Blarney.
Source: Holden (1806), vol. I, p. 18: The groves of Blarney.
 In a letter to his publisher written in January, 1831 Moore says, "The Canadian Boat Song" I certainly altered, and so I did "The last rose of summer"' (*Letters to Power*, p. 160).

5. *Title:* The young May moon.
First line: The young May moon is beaming, love.
Tune: The Dandy O! [Moore's title, but see below.]
Source: Shield's *Robin Hood* (1784): Irish tune. Moffat states (p. 254): "The name, 'The Dandy O' is a misnomer, and was evidently taken from the second verse of the song in 'Robin Hood', one of the lines of which is 'And I'm her a-dandy O.'" The tune properly known as 'The Dandy O' was used by Moore for his song 'Eveleen's Bower' (II, 7).
6. *Title:* The minstrel-boy.
First line: The minstrel-boy to the war is gone.
Tune: 'The moreen' in index and 'The mereen' at tune.
Source: not found.
7. *Title:* The song of O'Ruark, Prince of Breffni.
First line: The valley lay smiling before me.
Tune: The pretty girl milking her cow.
Source: Bunting (1796), p. 29: The pretty girl milking the cows.
8. *Title:* Oh! had we some bright little isle of our own!
First line: same.
Tune: Sheela na Guira.
Source: much the closest version of this celebrated air is that in the second edition of Walker's *Irish Bards* (1818), no. XXIX: Sheela na Guira. This also has the advantage of being identical in title with Moore. The tune is not given in the first edition (1786), and a consideration of dates shows that the second edition cannot have been used by Moore for a tune in the Fifth Number of the melodies.
 The sources of the additional tunes in the second edition (Appendix, nos. XVI—XLIII) are not given, but most if not all of them are taken from printed books. It seems likely, therefore, that a printed source prior to Walker exists and was used by Moore for this air. But it has not been found.
9. *Title:* Farewell!—but, whenever you welcome the hour.
First line: same.
Tune: Moll Roone.
Source: not found.
10. *Title:* Oh! doubt me not.
First line: Oh! doubt me not—the season.
Tune: Yellow Wat and the fox.
Source: Bunting (1809), p. 19: Yellow Wat and the fox.
11. *Title:* You remember Ellen.
First line: You remember Ellen, our hamlet's pride.
Tune: Were I a clerk.
Source: Given by Petrie to Moore (see p. 111 *supra*).
12. *Title:* I'd mourn the hopes.
First line: I'd mourn the hopes that leave me.
Tune: The rose-tree.
Source: Shield's *Poor Soldier* (1782), p. 14: A rose tree full in bearing. (Name of old air not given.)

SIXTH NUMBER. 1815.

1. *Title:* Come o'er the sea.
First line: same.
Tune: Cuishlih ma chree.
Source: Dr. Kelly's MS. book (see p. 111, *supra*).
2. *Title:* Has sorrow thy young days shaded?
First line: same.
Tune: Sly Patrick.
Source: Dr. Kelly's MS. book (see p. 111, *supra*).

3. *Title:* No, not more welcome.
First line: No, not more welcome the fairy numbers.
Tune: Luggelaw.
Source: given by Petrie to Moore (see p. 111 *supra*).
4. *Title:* When first I met thee.
First line: When first I met thee, warm and young.
Tune: O Patrick, fly from me.
Source: Moore adds the following footnote to his song:—
 'This very beautiful Irish air was sent to me by a gentleman of Oxford.
 There is much pathos in the original words, and both words and music have
 all the features of authenticity.'
 (For possible identification of contributor see p. 111 *supra*.)
5. *Title:* While history's muse.
First line: While history's muse the memorial was keeping.
Tune: Paddy whack.
Source: *Hibernian Muse* (c. 1786), p. 28: Paddy whack.
6. *Title:* The time I've lost in wooing.
First line: same.
Tune: Pease upon a trencher.
Source: Shield's *Poor Soldier* (1782), p. 25, the name of the old air not being
 given; or, less probably, *Aird* (1782), I, p. 58: Pease upon a trencher, the
 name given by Moore.
7. *Title:* Oh! where's the slave?
First line: Oh! where's the slave, so lowly.
Tune: Sios agus sios liom.
Source: For this song Moore has used two airs
 (a) 'Sheen sheesh igus souse lum', taken from *Wright* (c. 1730), and for the
 concluding four bars of the song
 (b) 'An Irish Dump' taken from *Hibernian Muse* (c. 1786), p. 1.
 Moore adds the following in a footnote: 'The few bars, which I have here
 taken the liberty of connecting with this spirited air, form one of those
 melancholy strains of our music, which are called *Dumps*. I found it in a
 collection entitled the *Hibernian Muse*, and we are told in the essay [p. 5]
 prefixed to that Work, that "it is said to have been sung by the Irish Women
 on the field of battle, after a terrible slaughter made by Cromwell's troops
 in Ireland."'
8. *Title:* Come, rest in this bosom.
First line: Come, rest in this bosom, my own stricken deer!
Tune: Lough Sheeling.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 9: Lough Sheeling. (Given to Holden by
 Petrie—see p. 111 *supra*).
9. *Title:* 'Tis gone, and for ever.
First line: 'Tis gone, and for ever, the light we saw breaking.
Tune: Savournah deelish.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. I, p. 35: Savournah deelish.
10. *Title:* I saw from the beach.
First line: I saw from the beach, when the morning was shining.
Tune: Miss Molly.
Source: *Fitzsimons and Smith* (1814), p. 7: Miss Molly my dear I'll go.
11. *Title:* Fill the bumper fair!
First line: same.
Tune: Bob and Joan.
Source: *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion* (c. 1801-10), III, p. 2: Love & whiskey or
 Bob & Joan—with vars. Irish.
12. *Title:* The farewell to my harp.
First line: Dear harp of my country! in darkness I found thee.
Tune: New langolee.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. I, p. 31; Lango lee; or, less probably, Thomson's
 Scottish Airs, vol. IV (1805), p. 167: Langolee. At the latter reference it
 is marked 'Irish' in Contents.

SEVENTH NUMBER. 1818.

1. *Title:* My gentle harp!
First line: My gentle harp! once more I waken.
Tune: The coina or dirge.
Source: not found.
2. *Title:* As slow our ship.
First line: As slow our ship her foamy track.
Tune: The girl I left behind me.
Source: probably *Hime's Pocket Book* (c. 1810), III, p. 67: The girl I left behind me.
As part of a very long note to this tune, Chappell refers to the fact that it was used by Moore, and continues: 'All the evidence I have been able to collect is against the authenticity of Moore's version. Among Irish musical authorities I enquired of the late Edward Bunting, J. A. Wade, J. C. Clifton and Tom Cooke; among English, of Dr. Crotch, W. Ayrton and of several band-masters. All were well acquainted with the tune, but no one had heard it as printed by Moore before the publication of his *Melodies*' (*Popular Music of the Olden Time*, II, pp. 708-9).
3. *Title:* In the morning of life.
First line: In the morning of life, when its cares are unknown.
Tune: The little harvest rose.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 24: The little harvest rose.
4. *Title:* When cold in the earth.
First line: When cold in the earth lies the friend thou hast lov'd.
Tune: Limerick's lamentation.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 55: Limerick's lamentation.
5. *Title:* Remember thee!
First line: Remember thee! yes, while there's life in this heart.
Tune: Castle Tirowen.
Source: not found.
6. *Title:* Wreath the bowl.
First line: same.
Tune: Noran Kista.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. I, p. 1: Noreenkeesta.
7. *Title:* Whene'er I see those smiling eyes.
First line: same.
Tune: Father Quinn.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 11: Father Quinn.
8. *Title:* If thou'lt be mine.
First line: If thou'lt be mine, the treasures of air.
Tune: The winnowing sheet.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 54: The winnowing sheet.
9. *Title:* To ladies' eyes.
First line: To ladies' eyes a round, boy.
Tune: Fague a ballagh.
Source: not found. The tune is long associated with the Royal Irish Fusiliers and in this connection General Sir Hubert Gough kindly writes to me under date 3rd March, 1959: 'The origin of the phrase "Faugh a Ballagh" goes back to the order given to the Royal Irish Fusiliers at the battle of Barrosa [1811] in the Peninsular War. The regiment was then commanded by Colonel Hugh Gough, afterwards Field Marshal Viscount Gough. Things were critical at one stage of the battle. Colonel Hugh Gough brought up the Royal Irish Fusiliers to attack the French line. In those days most Irish soldiers (and indeed civilians) spoke Irish. Hugh Gough gave the order "Faugh a Ballagh" [*Fág a' bealach*]"—"Clear the way", which the battalion, did. "Faugh a Ballagh" has been the regimental motto, as it is also the motto of the Gough family.' In the circumstances mentioned by Sir Hubert, the tune would doubtless be familiar to anyone who, like Moore, was born and bred in Dublin.

10. *Title:* Forget not the field.
First line: Forget not the field where they perished.
Tune: The lamentation of Aughrim.
Source: not found.
11. *Title:* They may rail at this life.
First line: They may rail at this life—from the hour I began it.
Tune: Noch bonin shin doe.
Source: not found.
12. *Title:* Oh for the swords of former time!
First line: same.
Tune: Unknown.
Source: Shield's *Poor Soldier* (1782), p. 16, to a song entitled 'Dermot's welcome as the may', the name of the old air not being given.

EIGHTH NUMBER. 1821.

1. *Title:* Ne'er ask the hour.
First line: Ne'er ask the hour—what is it to us.
Tune: My husband's a journey to Portugal gone.
Source: not found. Possibly from Croker (see p. 112 *supra*).
This is 'The Buff Coat Has No Fellow', printed by Chappell (*Popular Music of the Olden Time*, I, p. 342 *et seq.*). Chappell states: 'Moore appropriated it, under the name of "My husband's a journey to Portugal gone", although in the opinion of Dr. Crotch, Mr. Wade and others it is not at all like an Irish tune.'
2. *Title:* Sail on, sail on.
First line: Sail on, sail on, thou fearless bark.
Tune: The humming of the Ban.
Source: Bunting (1809), p. 30: The humming of the Ban.
3. *Title:* The parallel.
First line: Yes, sad one of Sion—if closely resembling.
Tune: I would rather than Ireland.
Source: Bunting (1796), p. 27: I would rather than Ireland.
4. *Title:* The fortune-teller.
First line: Down in the valley come meet me to-night.
Tune: Open the door softly.
Source: Bunting (1796), p. 8: Open the door softly.
5. *Title:* Drink of this cup.
First line: Drink of this cup—you'll find there's a spell in.
Tune: Paddy O'Rafferty.
Source: O'Farrell's *Pocket Companion* (c. 1801-10), II, p. 106: Paddy O'Rafferty.
6. *Title:* Oh, ye dead.
First line: Oh, ye dead! oh, ye dead! whom we know by the light you give.
Tune: Plough tune.
Source: Walker (1786), no. XIII: Plough tune.
7. *Title:* O'Donohue's mistress.
First line: Of all the fair months, that round the sun.
Tune: The little and great mountain.
Source: Bunting (1796), p. 35: The little and great mountain.
8. *Title:* Echo.
First line: How sweet the answer echo makes.
Tune: The wren.
Source: Bunting (1809), p. 25: The wren.
9. *Title:* Oh banquet not.
First line: Oh banquet not in those shining bowers.
Tune: Planxty Irwine.
Source: Bunting (1809), p. 7: Planxty Irwin.

10. *Title:* Thee, thee, only thee!
First line: The dawning of morn, the day-light's sinking.
Tune: Staca an mharaga. The market-stake.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 69: Staca an mharaga. The market stake.
11. *Title:* Shall the harp then be silent?
First line: Shall the harp then be silent, when he, who first gave.
Tune: Macfarlane's lamentation.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 14: Mac Farlane's lamentation.
12. *Title:* Oh the sight entrancing.
First line: same.
Tune: Planxty Sudley.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 68: Planxty Sudley.

NINTH NUMBER. 1824.

1. *Title:* Sweet Innisfallen.
First line: Sweet Innisfallen, fare thee well.
Tune: The captivating youth.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 11: The captivating youth.
2. *Title:* 'Twas one of those dreams.
First line: 'Twas one of those dreams, that by music are brought.
Tune: The song of the woods.
Source: not found.
3. *Title:* Fairest! put on awhile.
First line: same.
Tune: Cummilum.
Source: *Jackson* (1774), p. 7: Cummilum. There is an odd note giving a different and erroneous source at p. 100 of *Letters to Power*.
4. *Title:* Quick! we have but a second.
First line: same.
Tune: Paddy Snap.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol II, p. 27: Paddy O'Snap.
5. *Title:* And doth not a meeting like this.
First line: And doth not a meeting like this make amends.
Tune: Unknown.
Source: not found, but there are very close variants, both entitled 'Round the world for sport', in *O'Farrell's Collection* (c. 1797-1800), p. 28, and *Holden* (1806), vol. I, p. 23.
6. *Title:* The mountain sprite.
First line: In yonder valley there dwelt, alone.
Tune: The mountain sprite.
Source: *Owenson* (1805), p. 10: As on the wave, or The mountain sprite by Carolan. [The tune is not by Carolan.]
7. *Title:* As vanquished Erin.
First line: As vanquish'd Erin wept beside.
Tune: The Boyne water.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 40: The cavalcade of the Boyne.
8. *Title:* Desmond's song.
First line: By the Feal's wave benighted.
Tune: Unknown.
Source: not found, but probably contributed by Croker. Croker states (*Letters to Power*, p. xviii) that some of the airs given by him to Moore had also had words written to them by Lover and Bayly; and this air was used by T. H. Bayly for his celebrated song 'O leave me to my sorrow'. The latter fact is alluded to by Moore in a footnote.

9. *Title:* They know not my heart.
First line: They know not my heart, who believe there can be.
Tune: Coolon das.
Source: not found.
10. *Title:* I wish I was by that dim lake.
First line: same.
Tune: I wish I was on yonder hill.
Source: not found. This tune is virtually identical with X, 5 (Shule aroon).
11. *Title:* She sung of love.
First line: She sung of love—while o'er her lyre.
Tune: The Munster man.
Source: not found.
12. *Title:* Sing—sing—music was given.
First line: same.
Tune: The humours of Ballamaguiry, or, The old langolee.
Source: with title 'The humours of Balamagair' (*sic*), Thomson's *Irish Airs*, vol. II (1816), no. 36; with title 'Old Langolee', *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion* (c. 1801-10), III, p. 15 and *Holden* (1806), vol. I, p. 27.

TENTH NUMBER. 1834.

1. *Title:* Though humble the banquet.
First line: Though humble the banquet to which I invite thee.
Tune: Farewell, Eamon.
Source: not found.
2. *Title:* Sing, sweet harp.
First line: Sing, sweet harp, oh sing to me.
Tune: Unknown.
Source: *Smith* (1827), pp. 60-61. Moore has the following footnote: 'This graceful air has already been provided with words not unworthy of its beauty in a collection of "Select Melodies", published by Mr. Smith, of Edinburgh'. The poet's treatment of this source-tune is discussed at p. 115 *supra*.
3. *Title:* Song of the battle-eve.
First line: To-morrow, comrade, we.
Tune: Cruiskeen lawn.
Source: not found. Moffat states in a footnote (p. 136) that Holden printed 'the identical air'. The reference is doubtless to *Holden* (1806), vol. I, p. 38, but unfortunately this differs rather widely from Moore's version, which has not been found.
4. *Title:* The wandering bard.
First line: What life like that of the bard can be.
Tune: Planxty O'Reilly.
Source: *Bunting* (1796), p. 25: Planxty Reilly.—Carolan.
5. *Title:* Alone in crowds to wander on.
First line: same.
Tune: Shule aroon.
Source: not found. This tune is virtually identical with IX, 10 (I wish I was on yonder hill).
6. *Title:* I've a secret to tell thee.
First line: I've a secret to tell thee, but, hush! not here.
Tune: Oh southern breeze.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 37: O southern breeze.
7. *Title:* Song of Innisfail.
First line: They came from a land beyond the sea.
Tune: Peggy bawn.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 56: Peggy ban.

8. *Title:* The night dance.
First line: Strike the gay harp! see the moon is on high.
Tune: The nightcap.
Source: *Jackson* (1774), p. 5: Jackson's night cap; perhaps via *Holden* (1806), vol. I, p. 6, where the title is 'The night cap—Jackson'.
9. *Title:* There are sounds of mirth.
First line: There are sounds of mirth in the night-air ringing.
Tune: The priest in his boots.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. I, p. 4: The priest in his boots.
10. *Title:* Oh Arranmore, lov'd Arranmore.
First line: same.
Tune: Killdroughalt fair.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 34: Killdroughalt fair.
11. *Title:* Lay his sword by his side.
First line: Lay his sword by his side—it hath serv'd him too well.
Tune: If the sea were ink.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 10: If the sea were ink.
12. *Title:* Oh! could we do with this world of ours.
First line: same.
Tune: Basket of oysters.
Source: *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion* (c. 1801-10), IV, p. 123: The basket of oysters—Irish.

SUPPLEMENT. 1834.

1. *Title:* The wine cup is circling.
First line: The wine cup is circling in Almhin's hall.
Tune: Michael Hoy.
Source: not found.
2. *Title:* The dream of those days.
First line: The dream of those days when first I sung thee is o'er.
Tune: I love you above all the rest.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 22: I love you above all the rest.
3. *Title:* From this hour the pledge is given.
First line: same.
Tune: Renardine.
Source: *Holden* (1806), vol. II, p. 15: Renardine.
4. *Title:* Silence is in our festal halls.
First line: same.
Tune: The green woods of Truigha.
Source: *Bunting* (1809), p. 42: The green woods of Truigha.

TABLE III. TITLES AND FIRST LINES.

AFTER THE BATTLE	III, 7	Here we dwell in holiest bowers	IV, 11
Alone in crowds to wander on	X, 5	How dear to me the hour when	
And doth not a meeting like		day-light dies	II, 2
this make amends	IX, 5	How oft has the benshee cried!	II, 5
As a beam o'er the face of the		How sweet the answer echo	
waters may glow	I, 11	makes	VIII, 8
As slow our ship her foamy			
track	VII, 2	I'd mourn the hopes that leave	
As vanquish'd Erin wept beside	IX, 7	me	V, 12
At the mid hour of night, when		If thou'lt be mine, the treasures	
stars are weeping, I fly	V, 2	of air	VII, 8
Avenging and bright fall the		ILL OMENS	III, 5
swift sword of Erin	IV, 9	In the morning of life, when its	
		cares are unknown	VII, 3
BEFORE THE BATTLE	III, 6	In yonder valley there dwelt	
Believe me, if all those endear-		alone	IX, 6
ing young charms	II, 12	I saw from the beach when the	
By that lake, whose gloomy		morning was shining	VI, 10
shore	IV, 6	I saw thy form in youthful	
By the Feal's wave benighted	IX, 8	prime	IV, 5
By the hope within us springing	III, 6	It is not the tear at this moment	
		shed	III, 11
Come o'er the sea	VI, 1	I've a secret to tell thee, but,	
Come, rest in this bosom, my		hush! not here	X, 6
own stricken deer!	VI, 8	I wish I was by that dim lake	IX, 10
Come, send round the wine,			
and leave points of belief	II, 10	Lay his sword by his side—it	
		hath serv'd him too well	X, 11
Dear harp of my country! in		Lesbia has a beaming eye	IV, 4
darkness I found thee	VI, 12	Let Erin remember the days of	
DESMOND'S SONG	IX, 8	old	II, 8
Down in the valley come meet		Like the bright lamp that lay	
me to-night	VIII, 4	in Kildare's holy shrine	III, 1
Drink of this cup—you'll find		LOVE AND THE NOVICE	IV, 11
there's a spell in	VIII, 5	LOVE'S YOUNG DREAM	IV, 1
Drink to her, who long	III, 2		
ECHO	VIII, 8	My gentle harp! once more I	
ERIN! OH ERIN!	III, 1	waken	VII, 1
Erin! the tear and the smile in			
thine eyes	I, 3	Nay, tell me not, dear! that the	
EVELEEN'S BOWER	II, 7	goblet drowns	IV, 8
		Ne'er ask the hour—what is it	
Fairest! put on awhile	IX, 3	to us	VIII, 1
Farewell!—but, whenever you		Night clos'd around the con-	
welcome the hour	V, 9	queror's way	III, 7
Fill the bumper fair!	VI, 11	No, not more welcome the fairy	
Fly not yet, 'tis just the hour	I, 7	numbers	VI, 3
Forget not the field where they			
perished	VII, 10	O'DONOHUE'S MISTRESS	VIII, 7
From this hour the pledge is		Of all the fair months, that	
given	Sup., 3	round the sun	VIII, 7
		Oh Arranmore, lov'd Arranmore	X, 10
Go where glory waits thee	I, 1	Oh, banquet not in those shin-	
		ing bowers	VIII, 9
Has sorrow thy young days		Oh! blame not the bard, if he	
shaded?	VI, 2	fly to the bowers	III, 3

Oh! breathe not his name—let it sleep in the shade	I, 4	Take back the virgin page	II, 3
Oh, could we do with this world of ours	X, 12	The dawning of morn, the day- light's sinking	VIII, 10
Oh! doubt me not—the season	V, 10	THE DIRGE	II, 5
Oh for the swords of former time!	VII, 12	The dream of those days when first I sung thee is o'er	Sup., 2
Oh! had we some bright little isle of our own!	V, 8	THEE, THEE, ONLY THEE!	VIII, 10
Oh! haste, and leave this sacred isle	II, 1	THE FAREWELL TO MY HARP	VI, 12
Oh! the days are gone, when beauty bright	IV, 1	THE FORTUNE-TELLER	VIII, 4
Oh, the sight entrancing	VIII, 12	The harp that once, thro' Tara's halls	I, 6
Oh! think not my spirits are always as light	I, 8	THE IRISH PEASANT TO HIS MISTRESS	III, 9
Oh! 'tis sweet to think that, where'er we rove	III, 8	THE LEGACY	II, 4
Oh! weep for the hour	II, 7	THE MEETING OF THE WATERS	I, 12
Oh! where's the slave, so lowly	VI, 7	The minstrel-boy to the war is gone	V, 6
Oh, ye dead! oh, ye dead! whom we know by the light you give	VIII, 6	THE MOUNTAIN SPRITE	IX, 6
One bumper at parting!—tho' many	V, 3	THE NIGHT DANCE	X, 8
ON MUSIC	III, 10	THE ORIGIN OF THE HARP	III, 12
Quick! we have but a second	IX, 4	THE PARALLEL	VIII, 3
Remember the glories of Brien the brave	I, 2	THE PRINCE'S DAY	IV, 2
Remember thee! yes, while there's life in this heart	VII, 5	There are sounds of mirth in the night-air ringing	X, 9
Rich and rare were the gems she wore	I, 10	There is not in the wide world a valley so sweet	I, 12
Sail on, sail on, thou fearless bark	VIII, 2	THE SHAMROCK	V, 1
ST. SENANUS AND THE LADY	II, 1	THE SONG OF FIONNUALA	II, 9
Shall the harp then be silent, when he, who first gave	VIII, 11	THE SONG OF O'RUARK, PRINCE OF BREFFNI	V, 7
She is far from the land, where her young hero sleeps	IV, 7	The time I've lost in wooing	VI, 6
She sung of love—while o'er her lyre	IX, 11	The valley lay smiling before me	V, 7
Silence is in our festal halls	Sup., 4	THE WANDERING BARD	X, 4
Silent, oh Moyle! be the roar of thy water	II, 9	The wine-cup is circling in Almhin's hall	Sup., 1
Sing—sing—music was given	IX, 12	They came from a land beyond the sea	X, 7
Sing, sweet harp, oh sing to me	X, 2	They know not my heart, who believe there can be	IX, 9
SONG OF INNISFAIL	X, 7	They may rail at this life—from the hour I began it	VII, 11
SONG OF THE BATTLE-EVE	X, 3	The young May moon is beam- ing, love	V, 5
Strike the gay harp, see the moon is on high	X, 8	This life is all chequer'd with pleasures and woes	IV, 12
Sublime was the warning which Liberty spoke	II, 11	Tho' dark are our sorrows, to-day we'll forget them	IV, 2
Sweet Innisfallen, fare thee well	IX, 1	Tho' the last glimpse of Erin with sorrow I see	I, 9
		Though humble the banquet to which I invite thee	X, 1
		Thro' grief and thro' danger thy smile hath cheer'd my way!	III, 9
		Through Erin's isle	V, 1

'Tis believ'd that this harp, which I wake now for thee	III, 12	When daylight was yet sleeping under the billow	III, 5
'Tis gone, and for ever, the light we saw breaking	VI, 9	Whene'er I see those smiling eyes	VII, 7
'Tis the last rose of summer	V, 4	When first I met thee, warm and young	VI, 4
To ladies' eyes a round, boy	VII, 9	When he who adores thee has left but the name	I, 5
To-morrow, comrade, we	X, 3	When in death I shall calm recline	II, 4
'Twas one of those dreams, that by music are brought	IX, 2	When through life unblest we rove	III, 10
WAR SONG	I, 2	While gazing on the moon's light	III, 4
Weep on, weep on, your hour is past	IV, 3	While history's muse the memorial was keeping	VI, 5
We may roam thro' this world like a child at a feast	II, 6	Wreath the bowl	VII, 6
What life like that of the bard can be	X, 4	Yes, sad one of Sion—if closely resembling	VIII, 3
What the bee is to the flowret	IV, 10	You remember Ellen, our hamlet's pride	V, 11
When cold in the earth lies the friend thou hast lov'd	VII, 4		

TABLE IV. THE SOURCE-TUNES OF THE MELODIES.

Aileen Aroon	I, 3	If the sea were ink	X, 11
Alley Croker	V, 1	I love you above all the rest	Sup., 2
Arrah, my dear Eveleen	II, 9	I once had a true-love	III, 9
		[Irish Dump, An]	VI, 7b
Banks of Banna	III, 10	*I wish I was on yonder hill	IX, 10
[Bard's legacy, The]	II, 4	I would rather than Ireland	VIII, 3
Basket of oysters	X, 12		
Black joke, The	II, 11	John O'Reilly the active	I, 8
Bob and Joan	VI, 11		
Boyne Water, The	IX, 7	Killdroughalt fair	X, 10
Brown Irish girl, The	IV, 6	Kitty of Coleraine	III, 5a
Brown maid, The	I, 4	Kitty Tyrrel	III, 3
Brown thorn, The	II, 1		
*Bunch of green rushes that grew at the brim, The	IV, 12	*Lamentation of Aughrim, The	VII, 10
		Limerick's lamentation	VII, 4
		Little and great mountain, The	VIII, 7
Captivating youth, The	IX, 1	Little harvest rose, The	VII, 3
*Castle Tirowen	VII, 5	Lough Sheeling	VI, 8
Cean dubh delish	IV, 11	*Luggelaw	VI, 3
*Coina or Dirge, The	VII, 1		
*Coolon das	IX, 9	Macfarlane's lamentation	VIII, 11
Coulin	I, 9	Maid of the valley, The	I, 1
Crooghan a venee	IV, 9	Market-stake, The	VIII, 10
*Cruiskeen lawn	X, 3	*Michael Hoy	Sup., 1
*Cuishlih ma chree	VI, 1	Miss Molly	VI, 10
Cummilum	IX, 3	*Moll Roe in the morning	V, 3
		*Moll Roone	V, 9
Dandy O!, The	V, 5 and [II, 7]	Molly Macalpin	I, 2
Dear black maid, The	II, 5	Molly, my dear	V, 2
Dennis, don't be threatening	IV, 8	*Moreen, The	V, 6
[Dermot's welcome as the may]	VII, 12	Mountain sprite, The	IX, 6
Dermott	II, 3	*Munster man, The	IX, 11
Domhnall	IV, 5	*My husband's a journey to Portugal gone	VIII, 1
		My lodging is on the cold ground	II, 12
*Fague a ballagh	VII, 9		
Fairy queen, The	III, 6	New Langolee	VI, 12
*Farewell, Eamon	X, 1	Nightcap, The	X, 8
Father Quin	VII, 7	*Noch bonin shin doe	VII, 11
Fox's sleep, The	I, 5	Nora Creina	IV, 4
		Noran kista	VII, 6
Gage fane	III, 12		
Garyone	II, 6	*Old head of Denis, The	I, 12
Girl I left behind me, The	VII, 2	Old Langolee, The	IX, 12
Gramachree	I, 6	Old woman, The	IV, 1
Green woods of Truigha, The	Sup., 4	Oonagh	III, 4
Groves of Blarney	V, 4	*O Patrick fly from me	VI, 4
Heigh ho! my Jacky	III, 2	Open the door	IV, 7
Humming of the Ban, The	VIII, 2	Open the door softly	VIII, 4
Humours of Ballamaguiry, The	IX, 12	Oh southern breeze	X, 6

Paddy O'Rafferty	VIII, 5	Song of sorrow, The	IV, 3
Paddy snap	IX, 4	*Song of the woods, The	IX, 2
*Paddy's resource	III, 5b	Staca an mharaga	VIII, 10
Paddy whack	VI, 5	Summer is coming, The	I, 10
Pease upon a trencher	VI, 6		
Peggy bawn	X, 7	*Thady, you gander	III, 8
Planxty Irwine	VIII, 9	Thamama hulla	III, 1
Planxty Kelly	I, 7	Thy fair bosom	III, 7
Planxty O'Reilly	X, 4	Twisting of the rope, The	II, 2
Planxty Sudley	VIII, 12	Unknown [The bard's legacy]	II, 4
Plough tune	VIII, 6	Unknown [The Dandy O!]	II, 7
Pretty girl milking her cow, The	V, 7	Unknown [Dermot's welcome as the may]	VII, 12
Pretty girl of Derby, O!, The	II, 7	*Unknown [? Round the world for sport]	IX, 5
Priest in his boots, The	X, 9	*Unknown [probably from Croker]	IX, 8
Red fox, The	II, 8	*Unknown ['Old Irish Melody' from Smith's <i>Select Melodies</i>]	X, 2
Renardine	Sup., 3		
Rose tree, The	V, 12	We brought the summer with us	II, 10
[Round the world for sport]	IX, 5	*Were I a clerk	V, 11
St. Patrick's Day	IV, 2	Winnowing sheet, The	VII, 8
Savournah deelish	VI, 9	Wren, The	VIII, 8
*Sheelah na Guira	V, 8		
*Shule aroon	X, 5	Yellow horse, The	IV, 10
Sios agus sios liom	VI, 7a	Yellow Wat and the fox	V, 10
Sixpence, The	III, 11	Young man's dream, The	I, 11
*Sly Patrick	VI, 2		

JAMES COTTER, A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY AGENT OF THE CROWN

By Brian Ó Cuív

[Read 6th November, 1956]

SOMETIME towards the end of his life Dáiví Ó Bruadair, that great Munster poet of the seventeenth century who had lived through the Cromwellian wars and the Restoration and had hailed with joy the crowning of James II in 1685, addressed to a fellow-countryman of his from East Cork a poem of welcome on his return safe from England. This is how he began:

Fáilte í Cheallaigh ria Sir Séamus,
sochraidh sinn re teacht an tréin
dá thoigh tar linn slán a Sacsaih,
mál nach slim do chasnaimh chéim.¹

'May O'Kelly's welcome greet Sir James, enriched are we since the brave man has come safe across the sea from England to his house, a chief who is not weak in maintaining positions.'

In seventeen more stanzas he spoke with glowing phrases about the subject of his poem, whom he identified as Séamus Mac Coitir, and about his wife, whom he described as a Plunkett from Louth.

Like many of Ó Bruadair's poems this one contains allusions which are meaningless to us unless we have a knowledge of contemporary events. For instance, having spoken vaguely of Cotter's service to the Crown, Ó Bruadair goes on:

É go misneach d'fhiort an Athar neámhdha
d'éignigh fiucha ar fud a dheargnámhad
i ngléas gur scuch don mbioth a dtarbh tána
's dá éis sin tric do sciub go baile an báire.²

Fr. MacErlean, who has edited Ó Bruadair's poems, has translated that:

'He with courage that was aided by the Heavenly Father's might
Forced into a state of fury all his bitter enemies,

And adroitly from the world removed the bull that led their herd,

After which he whisked the ball home nimbly and so won the game.'

This allusion to removing 'the bull that led their herd' is pretty vague, but Ó Bruadair did not think it necessary to be more specific. He did, however, say that Cotter received a reward for his services:

An ruire do réidh ó chéadchoin chúire na gcleas
tug ridireacht scéithe is déisceart inge don fhear
ionnus nach tréata méith ná miochaireacht breab
tug tideal don té acht géire a choilg i ngal.³

¹Ó Bruad, iii, p. 186.

²*ibid.*, p. 188.

³*ibid.*

Again, for convenience, I quote Fr. MacErlean's translation:

'The sovereign whom he rescued from the chief Cú Chulainn of the gang

Gave him an escutcheoned knighthood and land obtained by right of sword,

It was neither fattened flocks nor the cajolery of bribes

Gave this man his title, but the keenness of his blade in war.'

In spite of the seeming vagueness of this part of the poem, I have no doubt that contemporary society in Cork would have understood perfectly to what the poet was alluding, whereas a couple of centuries later Cotter is forgotten, and readers of Ó Bruadair have to work their way through seventeenth-century history if they wish to get the true meaning of the poet's words. Although in the account of Cotter which follows I have dealt in greatest detail with the exploit referred to by Ó Bruadair, I have attempted within the limits of the time available to me to sketch his family background and to outline his subsequent career.⁴

There is no need for me to enumerate my sources here. They include contemporary and near-contemporary books and pamphlets, as well as contemporary records among the British State Papers and in other collections, including some from Switzerland and France. However, I must mention specifically two important sources. The first is, in fact, what led me in the first instance to become interested in Cotter. It is an account of the career of James Cotter which is given in the preface to an Irish text named *Párliaiment na mBan*⁵ or 'The Parliament of Women' which was dedicated by its author to Cotter's eldest son and was composed in 1697. This paper might be said to be a demonstration of the trustworthiness of this source.

The second is an extremely valuable non-contemporary source which in part might be put on a par with the contemporary material. It is a manuscript preserved now in the National Library of Ireland where it is numbered 711. It was compiled about the middle of the last century by Rev. George E. Cotter, a direct descendant of the subject of this paper, and it contains copies of many seventeenth-century documents preserved

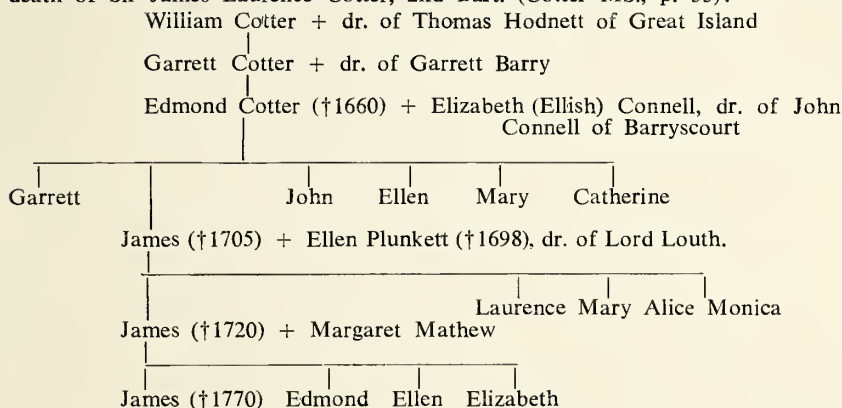
⁴This paper was prepared as a lecture for the Society and was delivered on November 6, 1956. In preparing it for publication I have added references, and have revised it to some extent. The account of the later period of Cotter's life (subsequent to his second marriage in 1688) could easily be expanded with the aid of extant documents. A few matters, such as the date of Cotter's knighthood and the nature of his connection or acquaintance with the Duke of York (later James II) remain undetermined.

⁵Published by Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1952. Much of the material used in this paper was assembled by me while, as a member of the staff of the Institute, I was engaged in editing this text. I am indebted to the authorities of the National Library of Ireland and of the Royal Irish Academy for facilities given me while working at this material, and to M. P. E. Shazmann of the Schweizerische Landesbibliothek in Bern, M. le Prof. L. Seylaz of Lausanne, M. Jacques Meurgey de Tupigny of the Archives Nationales de France, Mr. Tymings of the British Public Record Office and Miss Poyser of the Record Office of the British Houses of Parliament.

at that time in the Cotter family seat at Rockforest, Co. Cork. It also contains traditional accounts of James Cotter recorded by Mr. Cotter from old inhabitants of the Cotter district in East Cork. As we shall see, these accounts are exceedingly interesting and reinforce the view that folk-memory is not to be ignored in the study of history.

The Cotters, who are of Scandinavian origin, deriving their name *Mac Coitir* from an ancestor Oitir, can be traced back five or six hundred years in Co. Cork, especially in East Cork.⁶ We need only go back to Edmond Cotter, father of our James, who held lands in the Barony of Barrymore. In 1627 he married Elish Connell,⁷ and as James was their second son we can place his birth sometime about 1630. Edmond Cotter, who in contemporary records is described as 'gentleman', seems to have been a man of substance, for in 1638 David, 1st Earl Barrymore, mortgaged the castle, farms and lands of Ballinsperrig and Lacken to him for the sum of £300⁸. In 1652 the 2nd Earl Barrymore leased the Ballinsperrig lands to him for seventy-two years at £5 a year⁹ and in the Census of Ireland of 1659 Cotter was named as holder of them.¹⁰ In the meantime he had also acquired in 1656 all or part of the Great Island of Cove.¹¹ Following the death of his first wife Edmond Cotter married again,¹² and in his will dated August 15, 1660, he left the lease of Ballin-

⁶I have been able to construct the following genealogical table for James Cotter and his immediate descendants from information found in the Cotter MS. Some of this information was, according to Rev. Mr. Cotter, originally contained in a genealogical paper of the Cotter family which was found at Rockforest after the death of Sir James Laurence Cotter, 2nd Bart. (Cotter MS., p. 33):—



For further genealogical information see 'The Cotter Family of Rockforest' in *JCHAS* xliii, pp. 21-31.

⁷Cork Marriage License Bonds, *JCHAS Suppl.*, p. 32.

⁸Cotter MS., p. 42.

⁹*ibid.*

¹⁰*Census of Ireland, 1659*, p. 238.

¹¹Cotter MS., p. 42.

¹²*ibid.*, p. 39, according to which his second wife was named Ellen Sarsfield. On p. 37 it is stated that Ellen Connell, his first wife's sister, was married to 'Dominick Sarsfield, second son of Thomas Sarsfield, Lord Killmallock, a peer of 1688'. There is no record of this marriage in the Index to the Cork or Cloyne Marriage License Bonds.

sperrig to his second wife and her children.¹³ His other children were well provided for. To his eldest sons Garrett and James he left in equal shares the lease of Ballyvilloone and Lissaniskey in the Great Island, and to each of them separately he left the lease of an additional property. James was also left his father's brewing furnace.¹⁴

These facts are mentioned in order to give an idea of James Cotter's background. In spite of the upheavals caused by the Cromwellian and other wars the Cotters appear at the Restoration as holders of extensive lands in East Cork.¹⁵ It is possible that some members of the family were Protestants at this time, but I have no direct evidence of this.¹⁶

Apart from mention of James Cotter in a deed of 1644¹⁷ and in his father's will of 1660¹⁸ I have no account of him in the early part of his life, but it is certain that for some reason he left home and he may have joined the Royalist forces in England or on the Continent. According to an unconfirmed source he was 'a private trooper in the Guards',¹⁹ which seems possible. At any rate we may deduce that at the time of the Restoration he was a loyal follower of Charles II and was anxious to serve him should the occasion arise—as it did before long.

At this stage we must go back twelve years to the trial and execution of Charles I. Among those involved in that affair were John Lisle, who drew up the form of sentence, and General Edmund Ludlow, who signed the execution warrant. At the Restoration they fled abroad, fearing that their lives would be forfeit, and eventually they settled in Vevay in Switzerland under the protection of the government of the canton of Berne. Lisle is reputed to have plotted in Switzerland in order to revive what was called 'the Fanatick party' and to dethrone King Charles, whereupon the King issued a proclamation offering a reward to 'whosoever wou'd bring back, or otherwise suppress the said *Lile*'.²⁰ This is where Cotter enters the picture, and it is at this point that his career as outlined in *Párlíament na mBan* begins. Here is what its author says:

'féach créad é an mhuinighin do bhí ag Rígh Cormac ina lúth, ina mheisneach, agus ina chomhall, an tan do thug sé ceannas agus ordughadh dhó gluaiséacht mar aon le beagán buidhne ag tóraigheacht an traotúra Laidhil agus dá threasgairt, gníomh noch do-rinne Séamus go háthasach i n-éiric agus i ndíoghaltas bháis Rígh Séarlais' (ll. 52-7)

¹³Edmond Cotter died in 1660 and was buried in Carrigtwohill Abbey where a monument to his memory was erected by his son James in 1686.

¹⁴Cotter MS., p. 41.

¹⁵According to an oral tradition recorded in the Cotter MS. (p. 11) the Cotters of Ballinsperrig had formerly held lands at Copingerstown and Scarth Mac Cotter, but had been turned out of both places in the time of Cromwell.

¹⁶The account cited on p. 145 might be taken to imply that James Cotter was not a Catholic about 1665.

¹⁷Cotter MS., p. 42.

¹⁸*ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁹*ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁰See *infra*, p. 141.

'see what trust King Charles had in his strength, his courage and his performance, when he gave him authority and an order to go along with a small force in pursuit of the traitor Lisle to destroy him, a deed which James willingly did in requital of and in vengeance for the death of King Charles'.²¹

Lisle, then, is the 'bull that led their herd' of whom Ó Bruadair spoke in the poem which I mentioned at the outset. I have succeeded in confirming to a large extent the above account, although there are still some details about which I am in doubt. I can at least claim to have done better than the British Dictionary of National Biography which says that Lisle 'was shot dead . . . by an Irishman named Thomas Macdonnell';²² in the Volume of Errata published in 1904 corrects 'named Thomas Macdonnell' to 'known as Thomas Macdonnell';²³ and elsewhere states that Sir James Cotter was the 'true name of the slayer' and that 'Thomas MacDonnell, the name given in the English accounts, was a pseudonym circulated to avoid discovery'.²⁴ This latter statement is without foundation as we shall see. There seems to have been no secret about Cotter's connection with the killing of Lisle. One thing of which there can be no question is that there is plenty of material on the affair. Let us begin with the English State Papers.

In the Domestic State Papers for 1663-4 there are accounts of the movements of Ludlow, Lisle and other regicides. One of these, dated December 29, 1663, is a statement from a 'Monsieur Riodon' which says that Ludlow and Lisle are living in Vevay. It suggests means for taking them, either with the co-operation of the Berne authorities or by force, and requests a letter from His Majesty to the Duke of Savoy who is disposed to serve His Majesty in this affair.²⁵ A further report from Riordan to Sir Henry Bennet, Principal Secretary of State to the Privy Council, is dated August 8, 1664 from Pontarly near Neufchatel. It tells of the terror in which the fugitives live, and mentions that some of them have removed to Lausanne. The writer hopes for success in his mission.²⁶

Three days later, on Thursday, August 11, 1664, Lisle was shot dead while on his way to the Church of St. Francis in Lausanne. It appears from the Council Books of Lausanne that he had assumed the name of Field, but of course his identity was well known and the Council ordered that he should be interred in the Church of St. Francis. Here is the official record, dated August 11, 1664: '*Ordonné, que le corps de Mr. Fild, Anglais, qui a été tué ce matin en allant au presche à St-François par un coup de carabine qui lui a été lâché par un cavalier étranger,*

²¹The author of PB distinguishes the two Charles by using the name *Séarlas* to refer to Charles I and *Cormac* for Charles II. This method of differentiation was not uncommon.

²²*DNB* xxxiii, p. 342.

²³*DNB Errata*, p. 182.

²⁴*DNB* xxxiv, p. 434.

²⁵*SP Dom.*, Charles II, Vol. 86, Nos. 16, 17 = *Cal. SP Dom.*, 1663-4, p. 380.

²⁶*SP Dom.*, Charles II, Vol. 101, no. 22 = *Cal. SP Dom.*, 1663-4, p. 662.

sera enseveli au temple de St-François en considération de ses qualités.²⁷ Naturally the affair caused a stir, and the Berne authorities ordered an investigation. Following the receipt from the bailiff of Lausanne of a detailed report on the shooting²⁸ they expressed themselves of the opinion that greater protection might have been afforded to Lisle and that greater zeal might have been shown in endeavouring to arrest the culprits, all of whom had escaped.

A detailed account of the plots against the fugitives is given by General Ludlow himself in his *Memoirs* published in 1699. According to him there were several persons involved at different times, some French, some Savoyards, some Irish. Sometime after September 1663 the English fugitives then living in Vevay got word of a design against their lives formed by 'an Irish Man going under the name of *Riardo*, and belonging, as he said, to the Dutchess of *Orleans*'.²⁹ In November an attempt to seize or kill the fugitives was directed by 'Riardo', but was unsuccessful.³⁰ Ludlow states that 'Riardo', after the failure of the first attempt 'was not only well received by the King, but was dispatched with new Orders to carry on the same Design; and that in his passage through *France* he had been with the Dutchess of *Orleans*, who was the principal Instrument used by his Gracious Majesty for encouraging and carrying on this Manly Attempt'.³¹

Ludlow describes how Lisle, either really alarmed by the attempts on their lives or pretending to be so, had retired to Lausanne, thinking that it was Ludlow alone who was marked out for destruction.³² His move was unfortunate for he laid himself more open to assassination. Ludlow gives what is practically an eye-witness account of the killing which, according to him, was carried out by two men, one of whom followed Lisle into the churchyard and shot him in the back while the other waited on horseback with a led horse for his accomplice. These two men had stayed for a week in Vevay and another week in Lausanne before the fateful day.³³ Later in his *Memoirs* Ludlow discloses the identity of these men who, as he says, 'were employ'd by the Court of England and others to take away our Lives'. His source of information was 'an English Gentleman who was well acquainted with their Affairs'. 'He assured me that the Villain who murder'd Mr. *Lisle* by shooting him into the Back, is an Irish-man and named *O Crolli*; that the Name of his Companion, who waited with a fresh Horse to carry him off, is *Cotter*, and that he is a Native of the same Country; That the Assassin who goes

²⁷From 'Manuaux du Petit Conseil de Lausanne', communicated to me by M. Shazmann. Further Swiss documents will be found in A. Stern, *Briefe Englischer Flüchtlinge in der Schweiz*.

²⁸This report, referred to in the 'Manual de Berne', is now missing.

²⁹Ludlow, *Memoirs* iii, p. 137.

³⁰*ibid.*, pp. 140-3.

³¹*ibid.*, p. 146.

³²*ibid.*, p. 149.

³³*ibid.*, pp. 153-8.

under the Name of *Riardo* is also an Irish-man, and his true Name *Mac Carty*'.³⁴

Another contemporary writer, Anthony Wood, likewise attributed the action to Irishmen, though he did not name them. According to his version Lisle was shot dead by one Irishman after which 'two more Irish men rode into the press, and trampling on the body of Lisle with their horses feet, fled through the guards and escaped with little hurt'.³⁵

Yet another account of the affair from a source closer to those who carried out the killing is found in *A New Journey to France*, a little travel-book published in London in 1715.³⁶ The author describes a visit which he paid to the house of Sir Florence O Donoughue near St. Cloud, a country seat which had been left to O Donoughue by his uncle Sir Miles Crowley. O Donoughue gave the following account of his uncle:

'After his Majesty King Charles the Second's Restoration, a Proclamation was issued out, warning all those that were excepted in the King's general Pardon, to come in within Forty Days, and that they shou'd have a fair Tryal according to the Laws of their Country, otherwise that they shou'd be Outlaw'd, and a Reward offer'd for bringing them dead or alive. Among those that stood out after the Death of Colonel *Lambert*, and others, was Colonel *Lile*, (stil'd by the disaffected Party Lord *Lile*) one of *Cromwel's* great Favourites; a grand Villain, and a most zealous Stickler for the old Cause. This Man made his escape out of *England*, went into *Holland*, several parts of *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and at last to *Geneva*, where he was making his Preperations of Men and Money, in order to revive the Fanatick Party, and dethrone King *Charles*, not doubting but he shou'd find many Friends to join him when he shou'd return into *England*; whereupon the King issued out his Proclamation, with a Reward for whosoever wou'd bring back, or otherwise suppress the said *Lile*. *James Cotter*, a Lieutenant of Foot, offer'd to venture his Life in indeavouring to satisfy his Majesty therein; and pitch'd upon *Miles Crowley*, with *John Rierdan*, to be his Associates, both *Irish* Gentlemen; but in so low a Condition at that Time (having spent all their Estates by following the King in his Exile) that after his Restoration they were forc'd to inlist themselves in the Foot Guards: These *Cotter* knew to be stout and resolute Men, who were ready to lay down their lives for their Prince's Service. They went to *Geneva* (having secur'd Posthorses at all Stages on the Road, from the Frontiers of *France* to that City) and cast Lots to see whose Fate it shou'd be to do the Fact; it being on Sunday³⁷ Morning, they concluded it the fittest opportunity to do it, as he went to Church; that *Crowly* (to whose Lot it fell) shou'd on Horseback (as if he was a Courier just come to Town) deliver him a Packet with a broad Seal on it

³⁴*ibid.* p. 235.

³⁵*Athenae Oxoniensis* iii, p. 666.

³⁶There is a copy in TCD Library, Cat. No. V FF 57, No. 7. For the Lisle affair see pp. 111-5.

³⁷It was in fact a Thursday.

as it were from the King with some favourable Proposals, and Shoot him at the same time as he shou'd be busie in opening it; that *Cotter* shou'd stand at the Church-yard gate in order to kill the first that shou'd Face about after him; and that *Rierdan* shou'd be ready at the first Turning to do the same to the most forward that shou'd pursue them. *Lile* being kill'd in the midst of his astonish'd Guards, those that attempted to revenge his Death, fell by the Blunderbusses and Pistols of *Crowley's* resolute Companions, the foremost in the Flight always stopping by turns at every Corner, until the other two were past him; and thus maintaining a running Fight (wherein many were kill'd) they got clear out of the City Gates, came safe into the *French Territories*, (which were not above four or five Leagues distant) and thence into *England*.'

This account differs from Ludlow's in certain details, although they agree in making O Crowley the actual assassin. Ludlow does not mention that any guards accompanying Lisle were killed.

Two traditional accounts of the affair recorded in the Cotter MS. are worth mention here. The first is from a Mrs. Hickey of Ballysplaine who was aged 80 in 1841.³⁸ According to her 'Sir James went with his servant Moylan to Geneva in search of Mr. Lysle the Regicide, and shot him in his chair or carriage when going to Church and whilst he was handing to him a letter, the pistol having been so contrived as not to give a loud report.' Mrs. Hickey describes how Cotter escaped on his horse which had been held by his servant. 'They both set off on horseback. After a short time Sir James desired Moylan to look back and see if they were pursued. He answered "Yes, and a bay horse takes the lead." "That won't do," said Sir James, "such a horse will not overtake us." Soon afterwards he desired him to look back again, when he cried out "A chestnut horse takes the lead in hard pursuit of us." "That will not succeed either", said Sir James. Twice more being desired to look back, he declared that he saw black and grey horses taking the lead and in pursuit. Sir James answered as before. Having been asked the fifth time to look back, Moylan answered that a liver-coloured horse was approaching at great speed. "That horse", said Sir James, "will overtake us", and he then told his servant to stop at a corner of the road and to cut off the pursuer's head, which Moylan not wishing to do, he, unperceived, took his station there himself, and when the horse came up, he cut off its rider's head with his sword. The horse went on, and Sir James by its side on his. The body remained in the saddle for about half a mile, when Sir James removed it with his foot, and it fell to the ground. Sir James then got upon that horse and his own followed. He came to a draw-bridge which was up. He dashed onto the river and swam across, his own horse following. He came to a ferry. He crossed in the boat, and killed the boatman lest he should tell that he had crossed, and also to cut off this mode of pursuit. Moylan had previously passed over, and gave out that

³⁸Cotter MS., pp. 12-3.

he had killed Lisle and that Cotter had fallen into the hands of his pursuers. Sir James soon after made his appearance and told the facts of the case. He was amply rewarded by King Charles the Second.'

All this looks like an echo of Sir Florence O Donoughue's story of the running fight, but highly-coloured under the influence of folk-tale motifs.³⁹

The second oral account is by a John Connell of Peafield in the Parish of Templebodane. According to him 'Florence Crowley accompanied Sir James abroad to kill Lisle and Sir James shot him, Crowley holding a horse for his escape.'⁴⁰ Again we have the remarkable tenacity of folk-memory in retaining the name of Cotter's collaborator, Crowley. We may note that in both these versions Cotter is named as the one who fired the shot.

I think we are fully justified in concluding from all the foregoing accounts that Cotter was, indeed, the organiser of the action against Ludlow and Lisle, and that even if he did not actually shoot the latter, he was present as director of operations.

Before I turn to the question of his reward, I must say a word in justification of his action. Naturally Ludlow and his supporters condemned it as murder, and this view of it seems to have been common enough ever since, even among those who had no particular sympathy for the regicides. I can suggest two factors as being likely to have influenced public opinion thus. The first is the subsequent downfall of the House of Stuart and the ascendancy of the Protestant faction—heirs to some extent of the Republican Puritans. The second factor is that 'operation Lisle', as I might call it, was an Irish affair, carried out by men some or all of whom were Catholics. I feel sure that if it were the work of Protestant English supporters of Charles II, these would have been hailed as heroes and few questions would have been raised about the legality or morality of their action.

The author of 'A New Journey to France' discusses the morality of the killing. He says 'I made bold (tho' I must own it was not Civil) to make some Objections against the abovemention'd Fact, which (tho' very Brave) I did not think becoming so good a Prince to Command, nor a Christian Subject to Execute; that it seem'd to me no better than the Assassination of a Person in cold Blood, and that it was a dangerous Example for Princes to shew, least it shou'd happen to be retorted upon themselves in Time; to which he answer'd' pleasantly, That Princes ought to look to the legality themselves; That he must own, it would be an ill Precedent for Princes to set in regard to one another; That he was no Casuist, but as a Soldier, he cou'd never think it Base, for a faithful Subject to venture his Life in defence of the sacred Person of his King

³⁹Eg. pursued kills pursuer, and takes his horse—R. 233 in Stith Thomson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*; bridge demolished to prevent pursuit—R 235.

⁴⁰Cotter MS., p. 13.

and the Royal Family against a profligate Rebel, who was already a dead man by the Laws of his Country.⁴¹

Domhnall Ó Colmáin, the author of *Párliaiment na mBan* expressed himself very clearly on this point when he said:

‘ní ceart d’éinneach a rádh ná a mheas gur *murther* ná míghníomh traotúir fógartha do mharbhadh le hórdughadh speisialta an ríogh, acht fós is inmheasta gur gníomh é comh oirdhearc ionnas, dar liomsa agus dar le heolchaibh eile, go madh chóra a leithéid do ghníomh do chur i gceoinicibh i leitribh óir chum go gcluinfedh gach geinealach diaidh i ndiaidh fuil ríogh nó prionnsa do tharrang nach deachaidh saor d’éinneach riamh gan troimdhíoghaltas.’ (II 58-65).

‘it is not right for anyone to say or think that it is murder or a misdemeanour to kill a proclaimed traitor with a special order from the King; indeed, it may be considered to be so noble a deed that in my opinion and in that of other authorities it were more fitting that such a deed be chronicled in letters of gold, so that each succeeding generation might hear that the shedding of the blood of a king or of a prince never went without dire vengeance.’

This is obviously an answer to the opposite view which was probably gaining support in the reign of William III, and which is reflected in the contemptuous remark attributed somewhat later to Col. Southwell who said of Cotter’s son ‘This is the son of Sir James *Cotter*, Famous for nothing but killing the Great Lord Lysle!’⁴² Typical of the later English attitude to the affair is the comment of Lord Macaulay who, extolling the regicides and censuring those who sought to avenge the King’s death, wrote ‘But even in Switzerland the regicides were not safe. A large price was set on their heads, and a succession of Irish adventurers, inflamed by national and religious animosity, attempted to earn the bribe. Lisle fell by the hand of one of these assassins.’⁴³

Let us see how Cotter was rewarded. Ludlow deliberately put out the story that ‘those who Murder’d Mr. *Lisle*’, as he called them, were treated shabbily; ‘that one of them died not long after he had committed that Villany; in extreme want, at a mean Lodging in *Westminster*; And the other, tho’ advanced to be a Captain in *France*, complain’d of the Ingratitude of those who employ’d them, protesting they had never receiv’d any other reward than Three Hundred Pistoles from the Dutchess

⁴¹*op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁴²*A Long History of a certain session of a Certain Parliament in a Certain Kingdom* (publ. 1714), pp. 36-7. This pamphlet has been attributed by Halkett and Laing (Vol. III, p. 391) to Richard Helsham, M.D. and Dr. Patrick Delany. That the authors did not support Southwell’s view is clear from their comment ‘The Reader will please to Observe, that this *Great Lord Lysle*, was famous for nothing, but being a *Rebel* and a *Regicide*; and yet ’tis made an Aggravation of *Cotter’s* suppos’d Crime, that he was the Son of *him that slew the Traytor*’.

⁴³*History of England* (1858 ed.), iii, p. 506. As both Lisle and Ludlow had been actively engaged in the Cromwellian wars and administration in Ireland, and especially in Munster, we can understand that Irishmen might be moved by animosity towards them.

of *Orleans*, of which Two Hundred had been spent in laying the Design, and waiting an occasion of putting it in Execution.⁴⁴ But it is clear from the way in which Ludlow tells this that he did so not because he believed it to be true, but rather to deter others from attempting to assassinate himself. We must look to more reliable sources for the true version.

I have already quoted Ó Bruadair as saying that Cotter got a knighthood and land. Ó Colmáin says:

Do bhí Rí Saxon comh buidheach sin don tseirbhís agus don tí noch do-rinne í, go dtug se dó mar phrímhleíd bheith 'na chaptaoin ina ghárda féin, agus pinnse mór bliadhantamhail farais sin; agus ina dhiaidh sin tug dhó bheith 'na ghabhairneír ar na hoileánaibh; agus an uair ba mhithid le Séamus teacht tar ais dá dhúthaigh, do rinne *collector* geinearálta ar chiós an ríogh san taobh so do Chóige Mumhan de (II. 66-73).

'The King of England was so satisfied with the service and with him who rendered it that he gave him the privilege of being a captain in his own guard and a large annual pension along with that and later appointed him to be governor of the islands; and when James thought it time for him to return to his own land he made him collector-general of the king's revenue in this part of the Province of Munster.'⁴⁵

The author of *A New Journey to France*⁴⁶ gives less particulars, but on the other hand he mentions the other conspirators as well as Cotter:

'Cotter, besides the promis'd Reward, had a Colonel's Commission, was afterwards Knighted, and serv'd the late King *James* in *Ireland*, being Brigadier General of the Province of *Munster*. . . . *Crowly* and *Rierdan*, being Roman Catholics, cou'd bear no imployment in the Government but obtain'd recommendations to the King of *France*, who made them both Captains. The latter was kill'd in . . . *The Passage of the Rhine*; the other behav'd himself so well at the Bottles of *Montcassel* and *St. Omer*, under the late Duke of *Orleans* (whose Life he sav'd by his Bravery) that King *Charles* confer'd the Honour of Knighthood on him, and the King of *France* the Title of Count, making him at the same time, Commander of his Brigade of *Scotch Gens d'Armes*. He married the Lady *Ann Gordon*, Sister to the Duke of that Name.'

I have not followed up O Crowley's career,⁴⁷ but confirmation of the latter part of the above account is to be seen in French naturalisation papers dated 7 September, 1694 for 'Michel O Cruoly, chevalier, seigneur

⁴⁴Ludlow, *Memoirs* iii, p. 212.

⁴⁵Ó Colmáin is, I think, slightly inaccurate here. The appointment to which he refers was made not by Charles II but by James II. See p. 155.

⁴⁶*op. cit.*, pp. 114-5.

⁴⁷Though he is described as having been knighted by Charles II, his name is not given in Shaw, *The Knights of England*.

de Kilhalovig⁴⁸ et Sienovak, brigadier des armées du roi, natif d'Irlande, et Anne Victoire de Gourdon, sa femme, native d'Ecosse.⁴⁹

As to Riordan, there are two further items in the State Papers which may be connected with him. The first is a pass dated May 9, 1665 granted to Mr. Riordan to go to France 'with four horses, custom free'.⁵⁰ The second is a petition for employment made (possibly in September 1665) by a Lieut. Derby Riordan. It is calendared thus 'Served during the King's travels abroad; was enlisted into the Foot Guards as a reformed officer, but is now reduced to insupportable misery, by the loss of Lord Muskerry'.⁵¹ The first part of this, with the exception of the Christian name, tallies with the account given above (p. 141). The mention of Lord Muskerry is suggestive, for Charles MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry, had been in exile with the King, and it is not unlikely that other Corkmen were in the same company. This might explain how Cotter came to be in the King's service in the first instance. This scrap of information may also be the key to another phase in Cotter's career which will be dealt with later (p. 154). Finally, if Derby Riordan was indeed the Riordan who took part in the Lisle affair, there would be a plausible explanation for Ludlow's statement that the true name of 'Riardo' was 'Mac Carty', for Ludlow might have misunderstood some intelligence conveyed to him about Riordan such as, for instance, that he was a Mac Carthy Riordan, meaning a follower or dependent of Lord Muskerry.⁵² One of the oral accounts in the Cotter MS.⁵³ has a tradition worth mentioning. According to it 'the Queen (Charles the First's widow) gave Cotter on his coming to England her husband's bed and bridle and saddle as a mark of her royal favour and thanks'. It says that Sir James later gave the bridle and saddle to Lord Barrymore. There is a slight possibility that this may not be completely unfounded. We have Ludlow's word for it that the Queen Mother was 'our particular Enemy, and had constantly favour'd the Designs that had been carry'd on against our Lives'.⁵⁴ In an inventory of furniture, etc., in Ballinsperrig at the time of Sir James Cotter's death is a record of a 'Velvet Bed and hangings with gold brocade'. The compiler of the Cotter MS.⁵⁵ suggests that as there was a tradition that King James slept at Ballinsperrig, this may have been the bed in which he lay.

⁴⁸It seems clear that O Crowley was a member of the Coill Shealbhaigh branch of the family, for whom see J. C. Collins's article 'The O'Crowleys of Coill tSealbhaigh' in *JCHAS* lvi-lviii.

⁴⁹Archives de France, P 2699, f° 87v°.

⁵⁰*Cal. SP Dom.*, 1664-5, p. 357.

⁵¹*ibid.*, p. 579.

⁵²Prof. R. Dudley-Edwards has drawn my attention to a work entitled *Histoire des troubles de Grande Bretagne* by R. Menteth (de Salmonet), to the second edition of which, published in Paris in 1661, an appendix on the reasons for the Restoration was contributed by a D. O'Riordan of Muskry. The appendix throws no light on the career of its author, but it is perhaps worth noting that both it and the Riordan reports in the State Papers are written in French.

⁵³p. 13.

⁵⁴Ludlow, *Memoirs* iii, p. 225.

⁵⁵p. 60.

But I think it much more attractive to think of it as a possible souvenir of Charles the First. Incidentally the bed was later lost in a fire at the Barrymore seat in Castlelyons.

We must return to the more serious matter of Cotter's career after his successful mission. Among the Domestic State Papers for the years 1664 and 1665 I have found three petitions from James Cotter. In one of them he is petitioning jointly with a Thomas MacDonnell and they say:

'in consideration of acceptable service done by your petitioners, your Majesty was graciously pleased to declare that your Majesty would take care of your petitioners and conferr some imployment upon them for their support and livelyhood, whereupon your petitioners have hitherto dayly wayted upon your Majesty's gracious promise. Now forasmuch as your petitioners fortunes wholly depend upon your Majesty's princely bounty and favour, they humbly pray your sacred Majesty to be graciously pleased to extend your royal goodness towards them and to conferr something upon your petitioners as well for their future subsistence as present maintenance as to your Majesty shall seem meet, that soe they may be rendered capable of further serving and manifesting their loyalty to your Majesty.'⁵⁶

So much for the account in the D.N.B. which would have us believe that Cotter and MacDonnell were one and the same person.

In the next petition Cotter calls himself 'Captain James Cotter', and he says that he has been put in hopes of the first company that should be vacant, but that he has so far failed to get preferment, and as he is no longer able to subsist unless his Majesty be pleased to order something for his present maintenance, he asks for some allowance by the month until he be granted an employment.⁵⁷ The third petition⁵⁸ is phrased somewhat similarly.

There are also two separate petitions on behalf of Thomas MacDonnell.⁵⁹ The first is particularly interesting, for it speaks of 'some acceptable service done by your petitioner and others in relation to that bloody Regicide and Traitor Lisle'. MacDonnell's petitions were at last heeded and he was appointed a Lieutenant in the Regiment of Guards in May, 1665.⁶⁰

Cotter's patience was likewise rewarded in due course,⁶¹ for on July 5, 1666, he was given a commission in the company of foot of the Holland Regiment under Colonel Sydney.⁶² However, he was incorporated in a

⁵⁶SP Dom., Char. II, vol. 142, no. 51 = *Cal. SP Dom.*, 1665-6, p. 143.

⁵⁷SP Dom., Char. II, vol. 142, no. 52 = *Cal. SP Dom.*, 1665-6, p. 143.

⁵⁸SP Dom., Char. II, vol. 142, no. 53 = *Cal. SP Dom.*, 1665-6, p. 143.

⁵⁹SP Dom., Char. II, vol. 89, no. 43 = *Cal. SP Dom.*, 1663-4, p. 419, and SP Dom., Char. II, vol. 120, no. 62 = *Cal. SP Dom.*, 1664-5, p. 349.

⁶⁰*Cal. SP Dom.*, 1664-5, p. 349, Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commission Registers 1661-1714*, i, p. 52.

⁶¹For a suggestion as to how Cotter may have been occupied in the meantime see *infra* p. 154.

⁶²*Cal. SP Dom.*, 1665-6, p. 499.

new-raised regiment sent to the West Indies, and in the following year he was in command of 700 men in an attack on St. Christopher's where he was captured and imprisoned for eight months by the French. He was not the only Irish officer in the West Indies, for there is an account by an Englishman, a Major Scott, who complained of a dispute between the English and Irish officers in the St. Christopher engagement, and said that the Irish officers 'after some slight wounds' were taken by the French, while the Irish soldiers surrendered.⁶³ Scott later complained of 'Captain Cotter's great familiarity with the French Governor', but Cotter countered this by complaining of Scott's ill deportment in the engagement.⁶⁴ Again Scott came forward with 'a very strange account of Lieut.-Col. Stapleton and Capt. Cottar and 70 Irish'.⁶⁵ His story seems to have done neither Stapleton nor Cotter any harm, for the former became Governor of the Leeward Islands and was knighted, and Cotter, as we shall see, kept on bettering himself. The connection between the two Irishmen became a relationship twelve years later when Cotter married Stapleton's daughter Mary.

In May of 1668 Cotter returned to England as bearer of a letter from Sir Tobias Bridge of Barbadoes to Sec. Lord Arlington,⁶⁶ and he attended as an emissary to King Charles II on behalf of Bridge and his regiment.⁶⁷ In August of that year he was mentioned in an 'Order of the King in Council' as reporting on clothes for Sir Tobias Bridge's regiment in Barbadoes,⁶⁸ and in September a pay-warrant was issued out for £30 each for James Cotter and three other officers 'to be deducted out of the moneys next assigned for their pay as officers in Sir Tobias Bridge's regiment in Barbadoes'.⁶⁹ Cotter seems to have found financial matters a problem, for he appears again in the Domestic State Papers for 1669 and 1670 petitioning for speedy relief, and asking for payment of his arrears for two and a half years, saying that he has received nothing since his appointment to the Holland Regiment, and that he is worse off than if he had stayed at home and lost his employment.⁷⁰ Two further petitions for relief were made by him about the same time.⁷¹ Although Cotter was still in England in October 1671 when Sir Tobias Bridge returned from Barbadoes,⁷² his name appears in Barbadoes regimental lists dated September 1671 and March 1672.⁷³ In the latter he is first in a list of nine captains in the Barbadoes Regiment of Dragoons which had Prince Rupert as its Colonel. By November 1673 he

⁶³*Cal. SP Col., America and West Indies, 1661-8*, p. 480.

⁶⁴*ibid.*, p. 482.

⁶⁵*ibid.*, p. 483.

⁶⁶*ibid.*, p. 572.

⁶⁷*ibid.*, p. 573.

⁶⁸*ibid.*, p. 604.

⁶⁹*ibid.*, p. 612.

⁷⁰*Cal. SP Dom., 1670*, p. 736.

⁷¹*ibid.*, p. 615.

⁷²*Cal. SP Col., America and West Indies, 1669-74*, p. 264.

⁷³*ibid.*, pp. 259, 344; Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commission Registers 1661-1714* i, pp. 115, 119.

had given up his position as captain in the regiment and a commission was given to Sir John Ernle to replace him.⁷⁴

In the meantime Cotter had petitioned the King 'in consideration of his long service and late losses in his Majesty's service' for a patent for twenty-one years of the places of Secretary and Marshall of Nevis, St. Christopher, Montserrat and Antigua.⁷⁵ The petition was eventually considered favourably, but for some reason the patent was first granted to another member of the Cotter family. In February, 1676 the offices requested were granted to 'Garrett Cotter'⁷⁶ of St. Martin's in the Fields, for the lives of Capt. James Cotter, James Cotter, his nephew, and George Burgesse of the Inner Temple, and the life of the survivor of them'.⁷⁷ We see from a number of State Papers⁷⁸ that Garrett Cotter executed the office for some time, but that James Cotter was the principal beneficiary is clear from a subsequent report made to the Lords of Trade and Plantations in 1680 by Sir William Stapleton who, referring to the offices of Secretary and Marshall in the Leeward Islands, says 'both of which are granted to [*sic*] the King for three lives to Captain James Cotter, and are by him let out at annual rent to two persons in each Island'.⁷⁹ These offices must have been of considerable financial worth to Cotter.

Cotter must have been free from ordinary army service by 1676, and he was able to interest himself once more in espionage. In August of that year a pass was issued to him under Charles II's hand to permit him with his servants, goods and so on, to pass beyond the seas and return, and expressing the wish that he should be given any help he might require.⁸⁰ About the same time he wrote to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State about some mission which he had on hands. He says:

'I know not but I may light of som bodie in Paris fit for my purpose to carrie along with me. When I am at Lyons I must imploy som people. Those I must trust and reward well or else I may loose my bussnesse and myselfe to boote. If I can not effectually compasse my bussnesse this way I shall be forced to buy good horses and goe up into Savoy and com backe thorough that country. All this consider'd I thinke the least that can be given me at present is £100 here and a bill for two more at Lions. If I should want there it would be the loss of what I goe about and of money

⁷⁴*Cal. SP Dom.*, 1673-5, p. 17.

⁷⁵*Cal. SP Col., America and West Indies*, 1669-74, p. 457.

⁷⁶According to the Cotter MS. (p. 49) Garrett Cotter (who was James's elder brother) held the appointment in trust for James 'which trust was declared the 25th of March following'.

⁷⁷*Cal. SP Dom.*, 1675-6, p. 572.

⁷⁸*Cal. SP Col., America and West Indies*, 1677-80, pp. 170, 200-1. According to these the King had by letters patent of 9th March 1677 appointed Garrett Cotter Secretary and Marshall of the islands mentioned already 'with all fees, salaries and profits thereto belonging'.

⁷⁹*ibid.*, p. 559.

⁸⁰*Cal. SP Dom.*, 1676-7, p. 287.

too. I'll assure you I will serve his Majestie in it with as little charges and as effectuall as possible I can.'⁸¹

We can guess what his business was—no less than to get a report on the great General Ludlow himself, perhaps even to kill him. The following February (1677) he submitted a report in which he said:

'Ludlow call'd the General lives constantly at Vevay in one Jean Heunt or Heurt Binet's howse, a marchant. What letters comes to him are enclosed to the said Binet. There are two more that lodges and boards with him in the same howse, one goes by the name of le Capitaine Anglois, th'other le petit Anglois. About three or fowre years agoe another that was in great esteeme with them died in Germanie either goeing to or cominge from England. Ludlow was the same time or somewhat before absent about halfe or three quarters of a yeare, but I could not learne where, but I am sure ever since neither he nor any of the other two has not been further than Bearne, Geneva or Lyons. What supplies they have out of England comes altogether to Ludlow, and as they say upon his wife's account who not long agoe had been in England. The canton of Bearn for certain allows them pensions, and it is to be supposed those of Geneva does no less.'⁸²

We can understand Charles II's anxiety to know what Ludlow was up to, for the latter was constantly hoping for an opportunity to return to England and overthrow the Stuart rule. I have no more evidence to connect Cotter with him further, and Ludlow lived on till the accession of William III when he returned to England believing that he would be unmolested. He was not long there when he heard that his arrest was imminent and he fled again to Vevay where he died in 1692. By a peculiar twist of fate James Cotter's grandson married in 1746 General Ludlow's great-grand-niece.⁸³

I do not know exactly how Cotter was occupied in the four years after 1677, except that he married Sir William Stapleton's daughter about 1679⁸⁴ and lived for some time in Middlesex, England.⁸⁵ He certainly returned to the Leeward Islands and he was Deputy-Governor of Montserrat and Judge of the Sessions in July 1680 when he had attained the rank of Colonel.⁸⁶ He is referred to as Governor of Montserrat in a document dated April, 1681.⁸⁷ The following September, having ten

⁸¹*ibid.*, p. 286.

⁸²*ibid.*, p. 577.

⁸³Cotter MS. pp. 205, 210. His wife was Arabella Rogerson, dr. of the late Sir John Rogerson and of Elizabeth, dr. of Stephen Ludlow who was a nephew of General Ludlow.

⁸⁴Cotter MS., p. 43.

⁸⁵*ibid.*, pp. 49, 52.

⁸⁶*Cal. SP Col., America and West Indies, 1677-80*, p. 562. Another document of this period (*op. cit.*, pp. 574-5) is signed by J. Cotter among others. It is from the Council of Montserrat to the Lords of Trade and Plantations and describes the development of the island. In it is the statement 'Our ecclesiastical affairs are to the best of our endeavour agreeable to the canons and constitutions of the Church of England'.

⁸⁷*Cal. SP Col., America and West Indies, 1681-5*, p. 30.

months furlough, he returned to England bringing a number of official papers from Sir William Stapleton to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.⁸⁸ These included the 'Acts' of the four islands. I do not think that he ever returned to Montserrat, but it is clear from later documents⁸⁹ that he continued to enjoy the benefits of his office until the accession of William III as King of England.⁹⁰

On his return to England Cotter once more successfully petitioned the King as we see from a document dated November 17, 1681 at Whitehall, in which King Charles, being graciously inclined to gratify the petitioner in his request, referred to the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury the petition of Colonel James Cotter in which the latter prayed 'his Majesty to settle upon him a pension of £200 per annum given him for his services, upon the Revenue of Ireland.'⁹¹ There was some delay in granting this request, and Cotter renewed his petition. On August 12, 1682, at Windsor the King referred to the Lord Lieutenant Cotter's petition which asked that 'having a pension of £200 per annum payable in England, his Majesty would grant it him out of the revenue of Ireland during his life and order it to be inserted in the present and future establishments.'⁹² Here is confirmation of the *Párliaiment na mBan* statement that Cotter had got a large annual pension from the King.

I cannot say when Cotter first returned to Ireland. The Cotter MS. says that in May 1675 he purchased from his stepmother and her children the interest which they possessed in Ballinsperrig,⁹³ and that in the following year Edmond Cotter, his brother, conveyed to him by deed his interest in the Ballinsperrig holding.⁹⁴ We may suppose that at that time James was living in England. In May of 1680 Lord Barrymore let to him the mansion, offices, gardens, etc., of Ballinsperrig.⁹⁵ It is likely that by 1682 Cotter was back in Cork, settling down to enjoy the fruits of his adventurous career on his final return from the West Indies.

From the Cotter MS. we get the interesting information that on September 24, 1683 James Cotter was admitted and sworn as a freeman of the City of Cork.⁹⁶ Earlier in that year he had purchased for £2,782

⁸⁸*ibid.*, pp. 95-6, 117. See also C. S. S. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660-1688*.

⁸⁹*Cal. SP Col., America and West Indies, 1685-8*, pp. 470, 485. It is worth noting that in both these documents (dated 1687) Cotter is referred to as Sir James. Apparently as late as 1688 Cotter had the right to appoint officers to the posts of secretary and marshal (*op. cit.*, p. 485).

⁹⁰A petition by a Roger Williams for the execution of the naval office in Antigua, Nevis, Montserrat and St. Christopher, dated January 1, 1690 says that the office was last executed by 'Sir James Cotter, a papist now in arms against the King (*Cal. SP Dom., 1689-90*, p. 389.). We may suppose that under King William III Cotter was deprived of this privilege which he had held for so many years.

⁹¹*SP Dom.*, Entry Books (SP 44), Vol. 55, p. 148 = *Cal. SP Dom., 1680-1*, p. 568.

⁹²*Cal. SP Dom., 1682*, p. 334.

⁹³Cotter MS., p. 53.

⁹⁴*ibid.*, p. 54.

⁹⁵*ibid.*, p. 53.

⁹⁶Cotter MS., p. 50.

Ballymagooly and other lands in North Cork and he had been let a property at Rahan in the same area.⁹⁷ It was in Rahan that Rockforest, the family seat of later generations of Cotters was. Cotter was clearly determined that his title to these several lands would be good, for in December 1683 he was once more petitioning the King 'praying his Majesty Letters Patents to him of the Castle and Lands of Ballymaguly, Knockbrack, Kilrahan, Minoe, Ballinigroe, Rahan and Gortneskehy in Ireland under such Crowne Rents as his Majesty shall think fit.'⁹⁸ Once more his Majesty was graciously disposed to gratify the petitioner in his humble request, and by a Commission of Grace dated January 1684 Cotter was adjudged and decreed certain lands including Ballinsperrig and Cotterborough alias Ballymagooly.⁹⁹

Being an extensive landowner Colonel Cotter might be considered a suitable person to be a J.P., and sure enough among the State Papers for 1684 we find reference to a statement being sworn in his presence on March 3. The occasion is interesting, for it had to do with a suspected plot against the King. As ever Cotter is solicitous for the Royal welfare, although he comments: 'the persons named to manage this great villainy are half a dozen men of the barony of Carbery, which to me seems to make the whole but a malicious sham. However, none knows how far the Devil may push on disaffected persons.'¹⁰⁰

Possibly the last act of benevolence on the part of a grateful monarch towards a loyal and devoted subject was the granting by Charles II in the last year of his reign of a market and two fairs together with a Court of Piepowder for the manor of Cotterborough.¹⁰¹ That was in 1685 and in the same year, according to the Cotter MS.,¹⁰² James Cotter bought from Lord Barrymore the Barrymore Castlelyons estate of 272 ploughlands for the sum of £2,400.

It might be thought that with the death of Charles II, Cotter's power and influence would gradually become less, but the opposite is the case. Again we may turn to *Párliaiment na mBan* which says:

'mar is gnáthach leis an tí ar a mbí an sonas ar maidin go mbia sé um thráth nóna air, féachamaois ar an gcion do bhí ag Rí Séamas air tar éis bheith farais féin i seacht gcathaibh i gcogadh na fairrge, agus tar éis bheith i mbualadh Diúic *Monmouth* farais, mar ar iomchair Séamas é féin comh galánta sin go ndearna an Rí féin riodaire dhe. Is é an ní céadna thug dhó bheith 'na ghabhairnéir ar Chathair Chorcaighe, agus ina dhiaidh sin tug dhó bheith 'na bhrigidier agus 'na *chommander* arna gairisiúnaibh foirmleacha go huile.' (ll. 73-82).

⁹⁷*ibid.*, p. 56.

⁹⁸SP Dom., Entry Books (SP 44), Vol. 55, p. 302 = *Cal. SP Dom.*, Oct., 1683-April, 1684, p. 133.

⁹⁹*Comm. Grace (Ireland), Charles II*, p. 18; also Cotter MS., p. 53.

¹⁰⁰*Cal. SP Dom.*, Oct., 1683-April, 1684, pp. 306-7.

¹⁰¹Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, ii, p. 480.

¹⁰²p. 54.

'as it is usual for him who is fortunate in the morning to be so also at eventide, let us consider the regard which King James had for him after he had been along with him in seven battles in the naval campaign, and after he had been with him in the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, where James bore himself so gallantly that the King himself knighted him. And it was the same fact which caused him to be made Governor of the City of Cork and later to be Brigadier and Commander of all the outlying garrisons.'

I have not succeeded in getting any direct confirmation of the statement that Cotter served under James II when Duke of York or that he was present on the occasion of the defeat of Monmouth which took place in July, 1685. Yet considering how trustworthy this particular source can be proved otherwise to be, I am inclined to accept it as fairly accurate here. It must be remembered that the author, Ó Colmáin, probably heard all the details of his career from Cotter himself, and that he incorporated them in this contemporary document.

Certainly there is some evidence which seems to link Cotter with the Duke of York as early as 1672. It is connected with the 'Bill for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants' which was taken before the House of Lords on March 18, 1672. The Duke of York proposed that certain persons be exempted from the provisions of the bill. The contemporary record states 'His Royal Highness, the Duke of Yorke, offers a proviso for some particular persons Mervin Tutchett and others which is read and the Duke shoves what service every one of them hath done.' In two annexes to the bill 'Captaine Cotter' is named in a list of persons 'who have either eminently testified their respective loyaltyes to his Majestye before and since his restouration or to our late soveraigne King Charles the first of Glorious memory, dureing the late tymes of rebellion and usurpation'.¹⁰³ Unfortunately there no longer exists any record in the House of Lords archives of what service Cotter did to merit his inclusion in this proviso. However it is almost certainly our James Cotter who is in question, and it seems likely that it was primarily his part in the Lisle affair which was being recalled. It is possible that the record of his service would have shown how the Duke of York came to be sponsoring him on this occasion.

Again I must adduce a piece of oral tradition from the Cotter MS. It was recorded from a David Howard who was born in 1746, and whose father and grandfather had both been in the service of Sir James Cotter. The grandfather, who was 96 when he died, was house and land steward to Sir James and was much in his favour and confidence and used often to sit at his bedside when he was an old man, until Cotter had fallen asleep. According to Howard Sir James had been with King James at sea and even in the same ship. The King was so familiar with him as to

¹⁰³*Hist. MSS. Comm., Appendix to Ninth Report*, pp. 29-30.

call him 'Shaymus Bwee'.¹⁰⁴ It is clear that this tradition is in agreement with the *Párliaiméant na mBan* account.

If we relate the known dates in Cotter's career to the dates of the Duke of York's service at sea, we will reasonably conclude that the most likely period at which Cotter could have served with the Duke was in the relatively short time between his return to England after the successful Lisle 'operation' of August, 1664, and his commission in the Holland Regiment in July, 1666. Both *Párliaiméant na mBan* and the traditional accounts in the Cotter MS. refer to Cotter's being with King James in a naval war. This can only refer to the war with Holland which began in March 1665 and in which the Duke of York was very active in the naval campaign.

We have already seen a possible connection between O'Riordan of the Lisle affair and Viscount Muskerry¹⁰⁵ who had served the King in exile. After the Restoration Muskerry served in the navy, took part in the warfare of 1665 in company with the Duke of York, and was killed in action before Texel in June of that year.¹⁰⁶ Information about the action was sent by the Duke of York himself to Lord Arlington. It appears that the Duke was so near those killed 'that his clothes were smeared with their blood'.¹⁰⁷ In view of the details already given it seems not improbable that Cotter, while waiting for some recognition and favour from King Charles, had joined his fellow-Irishmen in the navy and thus came into the company of the Duke of York.¹⁰⁸

Cotter's presence at the Battle of Sedgemoor is another matter. It might be thought that having settled down in Cork he would be unlikely to be called to active service in England. Yet in June 1685 a Lieut. Col. James Cotter was appointed a captain in Sir William Clifton's Regiment of Foot.¹⁰⁹ Charles Dalton, who has edited the army lists of that period, has commented 'Not identified with the officer of same name whose comms. frequently occur in Vol. I'. But it seems quite likely that this officer, who is recorded as being out of the regiment again in November 1686, is indeed our James Cotter. However, in one detail, at least, the author of *Párliaiméant na mBan* is incorrect if we are to take *farais* in 'tar éis bheith i mbualadh Diúic Monmouth farais' to mean literally 'along with him', for King James was not present at the battle.

The statement about the knighting of Cotter after Sedgemoor is interesting for there is no direct evidence on the event. Cotter is not given in Shaw's 'The Knights of England', yet he is constantly referred to later

¹⁰⁴Cotter MS., p. 7.

¹⁰⁵See p. 146.

¹⁰⁶*Cal. SP Dom.*, 1664-5, p. 407.

¹⁰⁷*ibid.*, p. 408.

¹⁰⁸David Howard, already mentioned on p. 153, had a tradition that on one occasion the ship in which were both the Duke of York and James Cotter was set on fire by a bombshell which fell aboard and that they had to get into another vessel.

¹⁰⁹Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commission Registers 1661-1714*, ii, p. 36.

on as 'Sir James' and is so addressed in official documents. In some notes on the Cotter family published in 1908 there is a statement that he was knighted immediately after the Battle of Worcester: 'After knighting him Charles II took a ring off his own finger, containing a miniature of his father, King Charles I, set in diamonds, which he presented to Sir James Cotter. This ring came afterwards by descent to his great-grandson, Colonel George Sackville Cotter'.¹¹⁰ I have found no corroboration of this story and it may well be that the battles of Worcester and Sedgemoor were confused at some stage in the handing down of the tradition. Actually the earliest reference I have found to Cotter as 'Sir James' is in a document preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford in which Sir James Cotter is named as sheriff for 'Countie Corke for the ensuing yeare'.¹¹¹ This document is dated October 6, 1686.

If Sir James thought that he could settle down to an easy life of retirement at this stage he was sadly mistaken, for even before the outbreak of the 'Glorious Revolution' in November 1688 he was active and in command of troops. In March 1688 he received an order from Lord Mountcashel to search for and seize arms and other goods.¹¹² In May he was in command of five companies quartered at Youghal.¹¹³ Shortly after this, in August 1688, he is described as first sovereign of Middleton on its incorporation.¹¹⁴ In November he was appointed Lieut. Col. of the Regiment of Donough, Earl of Clancarty.¹¹⁵ Early in 1689 he was appointed Collector of Customs for the Port of Cork, in which post his brother John assisted him as Deputy-Collector.¹¹⁶ On February 26 he was appointed commander of the Royal forces in the City, Fort and Liberties of Cork.¹¹⁷

On March 12th King James landed at Kinsale, and proceeded on the 14th to Cork where he stayed six days. There is a tradition that he visited Ballinsperrig, the home of Sir James Cotter, and when we examine the route which he is supposed to have taken to Dublin we find that such a visit was quite possible, for he travelled by Lismore and Clonmel, and the most direct route from Cork to Lismore is by Carrigtwohill and Middleton and thence north to Dungourney, Tallow and Lismore.

Cotter continued to be busily engaged in the following months. In May he was returned to the Irish Parliament as member for Cork City.¹¹⁸ On June 25 he received an order from James II to proceed to Wexford

¹¹⁰*JCHAS* xiv, p. 3.

¹¹¹*Analecta Hib.* I, p. 38.

¹¹²Cotter MS., p. 73. This and other documents in the Cotter MS. were copied from original papers at Rockforest.

¹¹³*Calendar of Orrery Papers*, p. 338.

¹¹⁴Harris, *Life of William III*, p. xiv.

¹¹⁵Cotter MS., p. 73.

¹¹⁶*ibid.*, p. 50; see also King, *The State of the Protestants in Ireland under the Late King James's Government*, p. 329.

¹¹⁷Cotter MS., p. 74.

¹¹⁸*ibid.*, p. 50.

to redress disorders there.¹¹⁹ He is addressed as 'our Trusty and well-beloved Sir James Cotter'. In June and July large grants of land in the Baronies of Barrymore, Imokilly and Kerricurrihy in Cork were made for his Majesty's use for one year to Sir James.¹²⁰ In July he was appointed Head Ranger of Shannon Park in County Cork.¹²¹ His duty was to ensure proper care of the deer, breeding mares etc. in the parkland. At the end of this month he was involved in the defeat of a Jacobite army at Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh. He was in command of 'Clare's Dragoons', which were considered to be the flower of King James's army, and he was sent into Ulster to form part of a force under the command of Lord Mountcashel with the object of reducing Enniskillen. Instead he was ambushed and routed at Lisnaskea on July 27.¹²²

Again we find corroboration of some of the details given in *Párlia ment na mBan*, for on February 11, 1690, the appointment was made under the King's own hand at Dublin Castle of 'Sir James Cotter, Kt., for his loyalty, good conduct, care, etc. to be Governor of the City of Cork and of the Great Island near it.'¹²³ On April 10 Cotter was appointed by King James to collect tax in Co. Cork¹²⁴ and in May he was in command of ten troops of dragoons numbering 500 men.¹²⁵

The defeat of the Jacobite army at the Boyne in July sent the King hurrying south, and on July 4th an order was given under his hand at Court in Kinsale directing Sir James Cotter, Governor of Cork, to send the magazine left at Cork by Count Loisien to Kinsale for its defence.¹²⁶ From now on Cotter was supporting a lost cause.

In the Cotter MS. there are copies of many documents¹²⁷ dealing with Sir James's part in the campaign of 1691, when he was particularly involved as Brigadier in command of all the Jacobite forces in Kerry, Cork and the frontiers of Limerick, this being later extended to include Tipperary. He was originally appointed on April 9th, 1691 to replace the Earl of Abercorne,¹²⁸ and the appointment was extended in the following month.¹²⁹ Doubtless this is the command referred to by Ó Colmáin in the phrase '*'na chommander ar na gairisiúnaibh foirmleacha go huile*'. Ó Colmáin also refers to battles at Kanturk and Glanworth in which hundreds of enemy infantry and horse were killed as a result of Cotter's

¹¹⁹*ibid.*, p. 74.

¹²⁰*ibid.*, p. 75.

¹²¹*ibid.*, p. 51.

¹²²D'Alton, *Illustrations of King James's Irish Army List*, i, pp. 358-9; Ryan, *The Life of William the Third*, p. 179.

¹²³Cotter MS., pp. 50, 73.

¹²⁴D'Alton, *op. cit.*, p. 35 (from Harris's MSS., vol. 10, pp. 166, etc.).

¹²⁵Somers, *Historical Tracts*, xi, p. 398, original in Thorpe, *Pamphlets* (N.Lib. Ireland), xii, n. 15.

¹²⁶Cotter MS., p. 76.

¹²⁷Two further documents relevant to Cotter's activities at this time are cited in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Thirteenth Report*, p. 333. They occur in a collection of letters intercepted by Williamite supporters.

¹²⁸Cotter MS., p. 77.

¹²⁹*ibid.*, p. 78.

prowess. On the other hand Smith and others give accounts of a defeat suffered by Cotter at Bottle Hill near Mallow on April 29th, 1691.¹³⁰

An interesting exchange of letters took place between the Williamite Sir Richard Cox and Sir James in July 1691. Cox wrote to Cotter:

Sir,

Upon the score of our former acquaintance and the civility which you have used to our friends whilst you were governor here and since, I think myself obliged to let you know that I have both station and inclination to serve you. If it should happen that you throw yourself upon me without capitulation (for your party is certainly ruined and will every minute decay), you shall undoubtedly be used as a man of honor. But if you are of this opinion, bring off as many as you can and their arms, because your terms will be so much the better. This will seem odd if you don't apprehend the case desperate, but because I am sure 'tis so, therefore you have this friendly advertisement.

Cotter replied:

Sir,

Notwithstanding our former acquaintance it seems you do not know me. Whatever I might have done with sitting still, when laid aside for my civilities which for justice sake I distributed without distinction, I am now concerned, and will, I doubt not, be in a condition to return your kindness, for without rallery your case is so desperate that you will soon have occasion for it, and be confident in anything that is just.¹³¹

Of course Cox was right. On September 25th Cotter received an order from de Tesse, the French Commander in Limerick, to hold a cessation of arms.¹³² The negotiations for the Treaty of Limerick were on.

As Cotter was entitled under the capitulation to his real and personal estate, he made suit to Lieut.-Gen. Ginckell, and on October 9th Ginckell issued him a 'protection' for himself, his family, servants, property and so on.¹³³ In spite of this several attempts were made by enemies to deprive him of his property for, as *Párliaiment na mBan* says,¹³⁴ they were sure that if they could destroy him they would have a clear run against all others throughout Ireland who came under the Limerick Articles. Ó Colmáin speaks of eighteen legal suits against Cotter but I have no details of these.

That Cotter's case was regarded as of prime importance is clear from mention of him in a series of proposals concerning the forfeitures brought

¹³⁰Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork*, ii, 212.

¹³¹Cotter MS., p. 80.

¹³²*ibid.*, p. 96.

¹³³*ibid.*

¹³⁴*ibid.* 90-105.

before the English House of Commons in January, 1694.¹³⁵ These refer to persons who have claimed benefit under the Limerick Articles and have been 'adjudged by the Lords Justices and Council to have the Benefit of the said Articles . . . an instance whereof is plain in the Case of Sir *James Cotter*, who Claiming the Benefit of the *Limerick* Articles, was opposed by Mr. Serjeant *Osborn* on Their Majesties behalf, on this Suggestion, That supposing him within the Benefit of the Articles, he had Forfeited his Right thereto; and insisted upon having this Matter heard at the Council-board both on account of the President, which might be of ill Consequence in other Cases, and likewise for that a very Considerable Estate depended hereon. But in this he was over-ruled, the Examination referred to Sir *Richard Cox*, and Mr. *Carleton*, on whose Report Sir *James Cotter*, was adjudged within the *Limerick* Articles, and restored to his Estate.'

Cotter succeeded in defeating his enemies' ends, partly, no doubt, through the influence of Cox and some more enlightened Cork Protestants. This was due, perhaps more than anything else, to his own fair and conciliatory behaviour when power lay in his hands. Testimony to this effect was given in December 1691 by many prominent Cork Protestants who declared that during his period as Governor of the City and County 'the Protestants thereof, as much as in him lay, did receive all manner of countenance and favor from him'.¹³⁶

Having laid aside his arms, it remained for Cotter to renew his family life interrupted three years before. In 1688 he had married Ellen Plunkett, daughter of Lord Louth,¹³⁷ and in 1689 their eldest son, James, had been born.¹³⁸ During the campaign of 1690 he had sent his wife to France where his second son was born.¹³⁹ On the same day as he was granted his 'protection' after Limerick, he was given by Ginckell a pass for his servant William Cotter to go to France 'to bring back out of the said kingdom of France the Lady Ellen Cotter . . . with all her plate, jewels, gold, silver and all other goods whatsoever, without paying any custome or other duty for the same'.¹⁴⁰ In January 1692 Lady Cotter, who had been residing in Poitiers, was granted a passport under the hand of Louis XIV to return to Ireland with her family.¹⁴¹

Thus husband and wife were reunited and they settled down in Ballinsperrig to a quiet life together which was interrupted by the death

¹³⁵*Commons Jrn.* xi, p. 56; previously published in *Proposals for Raising a Million of Money out of the Forfeited Estates in Ireland* (London, 1694).

¹³⁶Cotter MS., p. 97, where there are copies of this and other testimonies to Cotter.

¹³⁷*ibid.*, p. 43.

¹³⁸*ibid.*, p. 127.

¹³⁹*ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁴⁰Cotter MS., p. 96.

¹⁴¹*ibid.*, p. 98.

of Lady Cotter in 1698.¹⁴² Sir James lived on until 1705.¹⁴³ Of their seven children four died young.¹⁴⁴ The eldest, James or Séamus Óg, to whom Ó Colmáin dedicated the preface to *Párliaimint na mBan*, was hanged in Cork in 1720 having been found guilty of the rape of a Quaker. The circumstances connected with this affair and with young Cotter's trial are very strange, and it is highly likely that the real reason for his execution was political.

When he settled down after his adventurous career Sir James Cotter characteristically showed his independence of spirit under William III by affording protection to Catholic priests, and for more than three years Dr. John Baptist Sleyne, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, was sheltered by him, during which time Dr. Sleyne was one of the few bishops in the country. Again we owe this information to the author of *Párliaimint na mBan*¹⁴⁵ according to whom churchmen from Munster and from the other provinces daily visited Dr. Sleyne and chapters and general assemblies were frequently held in Ballinsperrig.

At a time when others were unable or unwilling to keep up the old practice of patronising learning, Cotter welcomed to his house artists, musicians and Irish poets. It is little wonder that Ó Bruadair was loud in his praise, and it is not surprising that a *duanaire* or poem-book was compiled in his honor. Although this book, to which Ó Colmáin refers,¹⁴⁶ has since been lost, there is still extant a considerable body of verse in praise of Sir James Cotter and his son James composed by several of the foremost poets of Munster who clearly held them both in high esteem. These poems are not without interest, but they add little to our knowledge of Sir James Cotter's career. Among the Irish material Ó Colmáin's account is unique.

¹⁴²According to the Cotter MS. (p. 48) Lady Cotter died on April 11, 1698, at Downtown and was buried at Louth Hall.

¹⁴³In his will dated Feb. 15, 1703, Cotter directed that he should be buried 'at Kilcurfin with my three children that are already buried there, not doubting that my son and heir, when permitted to finish the burying place I began in the Church of Carrigtwohill, and of which I was hindered, will remove mine and my said childrens bodies thither, which I desire and appoint may be done with all convenient speed after finishing the said burying place'. (Cotter MS., p. 59).

¹⁴⁴Cotter MS., pp. 43-4.

¹⁴⁵l. 110-28.

¹⁴⁶l. 132-8.

¹⁴⁷I have noted nearly a score of poems on the Cotters by Dáiví Ó Bruadair, Uilliam Mac Cairteáin, Uilliam Rua th Mac Coitir, Seán Cláraeh Mac Domhnaill, Éamonn do Vál and others.

ROCK-BASINS, OR 'BULLAUNS', AT GLENDALOUGH AND ELSEWHERE

By Liam Price, *Past President*

[Read 21st April, 1959]

"Can a full list of 'Bullauns' not be compiled?" asked Mr. Hewson, in a note on 'Bullaun stones in Rathlin Island', in the *Journal* for 1938. No single person could do it, I'm afraid; there must be hundreds of them, scattered in all parts of Ireland, and each one would have to be examined in order to describe it properly.

Mr. Crawford was interested in these stones, and when writing about their association with cures, in the *Journal* for 1913, he remarked that Glendalough "possesses a greater number of bullaun stones than any other locality".

Certainly the number is remarkable; there are at least 30 at Glendalough itself, and there are nearly as many more in the lands which formerly belonged to the monastery. It is not easy to see any special reason for such a concentration in one place. However, it may be worth while to list and describe them, with some others in Co. Wicklow and elsewhere, and to make an attempt to investigate how these basin-stones could have been used, somewhat in the same way as has been done in the first part of Mr. Lacaille's paper on Stone Basins from the west of Scotland.¹

The location of most of the stones at Glendalough is shown on the map (Fig. 1). Many of them lie near the grass-covered track of St. Kevin's Road on the north side of the river, or close to the river on the opposite bank, where they have been rolled down off the field near the saw mill; some are in the river. They were scattered over the low-lying ground on the north side of the graveyard, and extended beyond the river as far as the north side of the present Wicklow Gap road, and there are a couple outside the graveyard on the south side. The field through which St. Kevin's Road runs is overgrown with bushes and covered with stones; there are places in it where one fancies that the piles of stones look like the ruins of old huts.

D. The Deer Stone. The name is derived from the story which is told in the Life of St. Kevin, about the doe coming to give milk to the infant Faelan. The basin is conical-shaped, 10" in diameter and 8" deep.²

a. 'The Seven Fonts'. The surface of a large boulder has been cut away to a depth of 7" to form a flat rectangular space 40" by 29", and there are three basins in the rectangle, an oval one 17" by 9", the other two 13" by 12", all about 5" deep (Plate IX 1). In the end of this boulder, outside the rectangle, is a fourth basin, circular, 15" in diameter and 7" deep. The other three basins are in boulders close by; one is shown in Plate IX 2.

¹Trans. Glasgow Archaeological Society, N.S. xii (1953) 41-93.

²There is a photograph of the stone in the *Journal*, xxxvi (1906) p. 199. As to the name, see note 23 below.

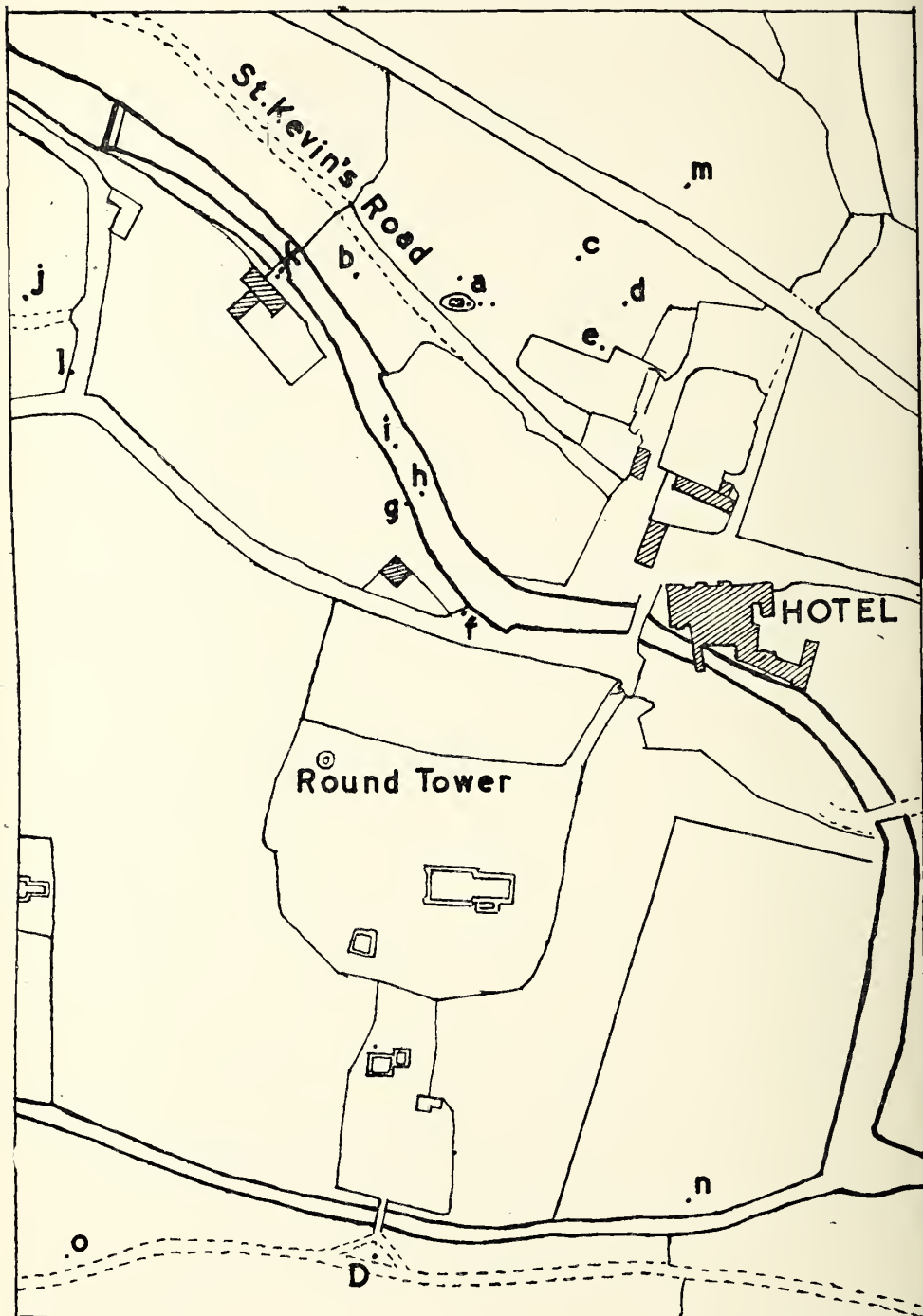


Fig. 1. Bullaun stones at Glendalough, Co. Wicklow

Based on the Ordnance Survey, by permission of the Minister for Finance.

Scale: 25.344 inches to one mile

b. The upper part of a large boulder has been cut to form a rectangle 40" by 24": the surface is flat, and there is a circular basin in it 13½" in diameter and 7" deep (Plate IX 3). The sides of the rectangle have been cut straight on three sides, and on the fourth it is marked off from the boulder by a groove.

c. A boulder with two basins.

d. A boulder which looks as if the upper surface was cut flat, leaving a projection at one side: one basin, 13" in diameter, 4½" deep (Plate IX 4).

f. At the saw mill avenue gate: two basins, one broken (Plate X 2). Near this is the socket of a cross, which was found about 150 yards away when the road was widened; it was moved down to the gate.

e, g, h, i, j. Different sized boulders, each with a single basin (*g*, Plate X 1: *h*, in the river, Plate X 3).

k. A boulder behind the saw mill (Plate X 4). The basin shown is circular, 10" in diameter, 9" deep. Another basin, slightly smaller, has been formed on the opposite surface, and the two basins have broken into one another, making the hole which is seen in the photograph. Near it is a boulder broken in two with the half of a basin showing in the broken surface (Plate X 5).

l. A basin in the weathered surface of a large slab which has been built into the wall: circular, 8½" in diameter, 3" deep.

m. A large flat boulder, just above the Wicklow Gap road, with two basins, one 12" in diameter, the other 14" by 12½", both 6" deep (Plate XI 1). There are two other boulders quite close to it (one of them is shown in Plate XI 3) each containing a single basin; another has a shallow depression which looks like the beginning of a basin.

Another boulder with a single basin is about 400 yards to the west, below the Wicklow Gap road (Plate XI 4).

n. A boulder south-east of the graveyard: basin 11" by 9½", and 6" deep.

o. A long flat slab, south of the graveyard: shallow basin, 2½" deep. There is another, not far to the west of this.

On the path outside the south wall of St. Kevin's Church (or 'Kitchen') there are four granite stones containing basins, two of them broken; they were formerly kept in the building (Plate XI 2). One of them has a second basin on the opposite surface, and a hole has been broken through between the two basins, as in the boulder at the saw mill (*k*)³

There is a stone with a basin of a different shape in the grass at the north-west side of St. Kevin's Church; the basin is circular, 10½" in diameter, carefully cut, with vertical sides 5½" deep and with the bottom slightly rounded, giving it the shape of a shallow U in section. This stone is quite different from the rock-basins listed above, and should probably not be described as a 'bullaun'.

In the field where St. Kevin's road is I have on occasions seen at least two other basin stones, but on revisiting the place have failed to locate them. The stones get covered up by grass and bushes so that it is sometimes hard to find them. Also I cannot say that the measurements of the basins are absolutely exact, as it is difficult to decide where the curve of the lip of the basin starts; I have noted different measurements for the same basin when taking them at different times.

In the area of St. Kevin's original settlement near the Upper Lake I only know of one stone, a boulder with two basins, one 16" by 13" and the other 14" by 13", both 7½" deep (Plate XII 1); it is near the forester's house in Derrybawn, about 200 yards east of the bridge leading to the Reefert Church.⁴

All these stones at Glendalough have concave, bowl-shaped basins, except the Deer Stone and the stone in the grass near St. Kevin's Church. The boulders are all granite, mostly too large to be moved.

There are also a number of rock-basins of the same type in the lands which formerly belonged to the monastery, particularly in the parish of Derrylossary, in which Glendalough is situated, and which was known by the name of Kildalagh in the seventeenth century, at the time of Petty's survey. In it I know of stones in the following places:

1. Killafeen, in Laragh East. A large boulder with four basins and another with two basins, both near the place where the road to Glendalough from the east crossed the Annamoe river (Plate XI 5).

³They are noted in the Official Guide, 1950 edition, p. 51, nos. 38, 39, 40, 41.

⁴*Journal*, lxxviii (1938) p. 151.

2. Killalane, in Laragh East. A stone with one basin on the mountain side above the Glenmacnass road, near the boundary of Drummin.
3. Drummin. Five stones on the mountain side, west of the Laragh-Oldbridge road: on Drumray, one with two basins and the beginning of a third (Plate XII 2), another with two basins, and another with one basin: a little to the south, two more with single basins. A sixth stone brought down from the mountain is at the door of Glendalough House, Drummin: circular basin, 11" in diameter. There is another boulder in Drummin, between the house and Oldbridge, with a basin 12" by 11" and 5" deep.
4. Baltynanima. A stone with two basins, south of the road from Oldbridge to Roundwood.
5. Raheen. A boulder with three basins, near Derrylossary church, and another with one basin, between Oldbridge and Derrylossary.
6. At Derrylossary church, in Ballinacorbeg. A boulder with two circular basins and the beginning of a third (Plate XII 3), and the two other boulders, each with a single basin. Also another stone, with a conical cavity 11" deep; it is in the ditch at the west side of the graveyard.⁵
7. Ashtown or Ballinafunshoge. Inside the east end of the ruined church, a stone with a circular basin 14" in diameter and 6" deep. In the field north of the church, a boulder with a basin 13" by 11" and 4" deep. Another stone brought from here is outside the door of Glendalough House, Drummin; it has a basin 15" by 14" and 6" deep.

All these 20 stones are within six miles of Glendalough.

8. Cloghoge. Near the green road, just west of the Cloghoge river: a boulder with two circular basins, 11" and 10" in diameter, both 6½" deep. A hole 5½" deep has been bored at the bottom of the larger basin; this was made for a charge of dynamite to break the stone; holes of the same size can be seen in the stones in the walls and the bridge, which have been broken by blasting.
9. Sleanaglogh. West by south of Glendalough, on the boundary of Rathnew parish. A boulder with a circular basin, 12½" in diameter and 6" deep. It is called 'the wart stone'. It is about half a mile from a well called 'Lady's Well'.

Some of the lands south of Glendalough also belonged to the monastery, probably from an early period. On this side, in Knockrath and Rathdrum parishes, and within five miles of Glendalough, there are four rock-basins:

10. Ballintombay Lower, Knockrath parish. At the side of the road; a boulder with three basins, locally known as 'the wart stone'.⁶
11. Ballintombay Upper, Knockrath parish. Two stones, each having two basins, near a raheen, about half a mile north of the stone in Ballintombay Lower.
12. Ballyhad, Rathdrum parish. A flat boulder with two basins, on top of the hill south of Clara bridge, half a mile from the boundary of Knockrath parish.

Other stones in Co. Wicklow, east side:

Meetings, Rathdrum parish. The O.S. Name Book (1838) records "a large stone with a hole in it", called St. Kevin's Cup, in the south of the townland. It has now been placed beside the bust of Moore, at the Meeting of the Waters.

Bahana Whaley, Ballykine parish. Near Ballykine graveyard: a stone with a circular basin, 13½" in diameter and 6" deep.

Cronebeg, Ballykine parish. A stone with a single basin was brought from here, and it is now at the house of Mr. D. O. Dubhghaill in Ballymacsimon, Glenealy.

Clone, Kilpipe parish. A stone with a single basin; this also is now at the house of Mr. D. O. Dubhghaill, Ballymacsimon.

Castlemacadam. Near Castlemacadam old graveyard: a stone with a circular basin, 14" in diameter and 8" deep.

⁵The stones at Derrylossary and Baltynanima, and one at Raheen, have been described in the *Journal* (lxxviii (1948) 179). The late Mr. E. M. Stephens told me that he had seen three or four others there, but that they had been broken up.

⁶Described and illustrated in the *Journal* (xlii (1912) 340: xliii (1913) 170: also 1 (1920) 182, where it is recorded as in 'Ballinabarney'). The O.S. map shows 'Site of Monastery' about half a mile to the west, in Ballinabarney townland.

Shelton Abbey, Kilbride parish, Arklow. In the garden: a stone with a circular basin 16½" by 15" and 5" deep. It was brought from Whitson Hill, where there is said to have been an old graveyard.

Ballyknockanbeg, Glenealy parish. Stone with a circular basin, 12" in diameter and 7" deep, said to have been brought from Coolnakilly. It has a hole in the bottom which, I was told, was bored by the farmer, who used it for feeding pigs.

Cronroe, Rathnew parish. A boulder containing an oval basin and a shallow depression, and another boulder with a circular basin. A well near them is said to have been called 'the priests well'.

Glebe, Knockrobin, Rathnew parish. Near the site of Drumkay church. Boulder with a basin 13" by 11" and 7" deep. A chip has been recently broken off one side.

Kilmartin, Killiskey parish. A shaped stone with a shallow basin, 8" in diameter and 3" deep. This is not a 'bullaun'; it may have been a holy water stoup.

Ballinahinch Upper, Newcastle Upper parish. A boulder in a raheen: circular basin 8" in diameter and 3" deep.

Knockatemple, Calary (formerly Newcastle Upper) parish. Near the old graveyard: a boulder with a basin 16" by 14" and 6" deep.

Tinnapark Demesne, Kilcoole parish. A stone in front of the house, said to have been brought from a field near Holywell.

Kilmurry South, Kilmacanoge parish. In the ruin of the church at the place called Teetemple or the Monastery: a boulder with a basin 14" by 12" and 8" deep.

Deerpark, Powerscourt parish. A large boulder with 4 basins, two circular and two elliptical: the surface of the boulder appears to have been artificially levelled: called 'the praying stone'. It is near the site of an old church.

Tonygarrow, Powerscourt parish. At a site called 'the Relic'. A large flat rock with a circular basin, 16" in diameter and 8½" deep.

Monastery, Powerscourt parish. O'Curry in the Ordnance Survey Letters records "a baptismal font" as having been dug up in the glen near Enniskerry. It is not to be seen now.

In south Co. Dublin I know two boulders with basins at Rathmichael church, and a large boulder with two large conical cavities at Kill of the Grange church. At Glassamucky Mountain in Tallaght parish, just beside the boundary of Co. Wicklow, there is a large boulder (Plate XII 5, 6) with a circular cavity 18" in diameter and 6" deep, not basin-shaped but with steep sides and flat bottom; at the eastern end of the boulder there is a similar cavity, and beside it a basin-shaped hollow, partly broken away; near this are two shallow depressions. Some 500 yards to the north-west there is a large boulder with a cross incised on it. There is a stone in Saggart graveyard called 'the wart stone'; it was the socket of a cross.⁷

Stones in west Co. Wicklow:

Kilbeg, Boystown parish. A boulder near St. Boodin's well, with a basin 18" by 14" and 10" deep.

Lackan, Boystown parish. Outside Templeboodin graveyard: a boulder with a circular cavity 13" in diameter and 6½" deep, cup-shaped, with sloping sides and rounded bottom.

Ballyknockan, Boystown parish. Near a rath which is now submerged: a large stone called 'the wart stone', with a circular basin 17½" in diameter and 8" deep.

Crehelp. At the site of the old church, locally called 'the Religeen': a circular basin 10" in diameter and 4" deep, cut in the sloping surface of a small granite boulder (Plate XII 4).

Kilbaylet Lower, Donard parish. A boulder here which was broken up is said to have had five circular cavities.⁸

Brittas, Donaghmore parish. A large boulder called 'the holy stone', with five basins: one called 'the giant's foot', 28" long, is formed by two basins with a low ridge between, and is shaped like a foot: the other four basins are circular. Near it is another large rock with four circular basins, and another boulder with a single basin. Freynestown. In a field called 'the bullock park', said by local tradition to be the site of a monastery: a stone with a shallow circular basin 9" in diameter and 2" deep.

⁷*Journal*, lxxvii (1947) 86.

⁸*Journal*, lxi (1931) 137.

This may perhaps have been a holy water stoup; the place may be the site of the Anglo-Norman church of Freynestown.

Rampere, Rathbran parish. A boulder with a basin, in a rath which was almost obliterated when the road was made.

Aghowle Lower, Aghowle parish. A boulder near the old church, with four basins, one broken (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Aghowle, Co. Wicklow

Photo : C. O Cuileanain.

These are all the stones that I know of in Co. Wicklow, but it is quite likely that there may be more.

At Clane, Co. Kildare, there is a 'bullaun' stone with a circular basin 18" deep; it is called 'the wart stone'. Another stone near Clane which is called 'the wart stone' is the base of a cross. A similar stone at Crossmorris, Co. Kildare, with a diamond-shaped socket for a cross cut in it, is also called 'the wart stone'.⁹

In Co. Carlow I have noted a large flat boulder with three basins at Clonmore, near the graveyard; at Ballycook a large boulder with a conical cavity, outside Kineagh old graveyard; at Aghade, in the graveyard, a stone with a basin 12" in diameter and 5" deep, which has been described as 'an ancient font';¹⁰ at Kildreenagh near Bagenalstown, a large boulder with two conical cavities, beside the ruin of an old church.¹¹

In Kilcavan parish in north Co. Wexford there are two stones, both with somewhat broken basins, one at Killinierin and the other in the adjoining townland of Ballynestragh Demesne.¹²

Descriptions have been given of a great many rock-basins in other parts of the country; I need only mention a few of the more remarkable. The well known stone called St. Bridget's stone at Termon, near Blacklion, Killinagh parish, Co. Cavan, near the old graveyard, has nine basins with round stones in them; it has attracted particular notice because of the tradition that it was used as a cursing stone.¹³ A limestone boulder at

⁹See *Journal Kildare Arch. Soc.*, iii (1899) 110: *ibid.*, i (1891) 27, 251: *ibid.*, ix (1918) 258.

¹⁰Comerford, *Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, iii 117.

¹¹Illustrated in *Journal*, xl (1910) 171.

¹²*Journal*, xxix (1899) 404.

¹³*Journal*, xliii (1875) 460: xliiii (1913) 268: the photograph, fig. 2, facing p. 268, shows this stone. The person wishing to bring a curse on another was supposed to turn the stones in the basins.

Meelaghans, Geashill parish, Co. Offaly, has six basins and three shallow depressions.¹⁴ There are two large granite stones, one with six and the other with three basins, at Gortavoher, Clonbeg parish, Co. Tipperary: some of the basins at the edges of the stones are partly broken away. According to tradition the hollows were formed by the knees of three saints who constantly prayed there.¹⁵ A rock not far from the pass of Keamaneigh, near Gouganebarra, Co. Cork, has five basins with round stones in them; the story about it was that the stones in the basins were lumps of butter which had been turned into stone by St. Fiachna.¹⁶ Wilde gives a drawing of a stone at Cong in which there are five basins, and he describes another at Inchagoill "with an oval-shaped depression 6 by 4 inches in diameter"; he suggests that these were primitive fonts.¹⁷ A cross is incised on a boulder at Carrowmore, near Clonca, Co. Donegal, in which there is a rock-basin; the water in the basin was used to cure many diseases. The place is said to be the site of the old monastery of Both Chonais.¹⁸ A drawing of Wakeman's shows another incised cross in a basin in a boulder of red sandstone near the lake at Drumgay, Co. Fermanagh; he describes this basin as "worked out with a punch". He gives a sketch of another basin at Gortaloughan on the north shore of this lake; he says this place was considered sacred, and that the water in the basin was used to cure eye diseases; he saw rags hanging on the bushes.¹⁹ St. Molaisse's famous monastery of Devenish is about a mile to the west of these two stones.

A boulder at Garranes, Kilcaskan parish, Co. Kerry, has several basins in it, in which there are rounded pebbles. The site is called Temple Feaghna, and the story that these were butter rolls, changed into stone by the saint, is told here as well as at Keamaneigh.²⁰ A large sandstone slab near Kilmalkedar church, Co. Kerry, has several basins in it, some of them now covered by the grass (Plate XIII 1). They are locally called 'keelers' or '*beistí*' (milk-tubs); the local people say that the legendary cow, the Glas Ghaibhneach, was milked into the basins by the monks.²¹ A boulder with two hollows at Boherduff, Kilconickny parish, near Loughrea, Co. Galway, is locally known as the holy well of Tobermacduach (Plate XIII 2). A stone called 'Doughnambraher Font' in the townland of Killian, Templemaley parish, Co. Clare, has a hollow in which there are nine round stones (Plate XIII 4); it is said to cure warts. There is another wartstone at Kilvoydan, Co. Clare, which is the socket of an ancient cross. Mr. T. J. Westropp adds a list of some other 'bullauns' in the same county and says "There are

¹⁴*Journal*, x (1869) 349; the writer describes two of the shallow depressions as natural.

¹⁵*Journal*, xxxiii (1903) 193; xl (1910) 60.

¹⁶P.R.I.A. xvii (1889) 263. The exact location of this stone is not stated. There is no mention of any tradition of cursing being associated with the basins.

¹⁷*Lough Corrib*, 1867 ed., pp. 148, 164.

¹⁸*Journal*, xxxii (1902) 300.

¹⁹*Journal*, xiii (1875) 462, 466; P.R.I.A. xvii (1889) 261.

²⁰*Journal*, xxviii (1898) 320-1; photograph facing p. 314.

²¹An Seabhac, *Tríocha Céad Chorca Dhuibhne*, p. 117.

several basins in the crags of the Burren, often near forts and dolmens, but I believe them to be natural".²²

The story now told about the Deer Stone at Glendalough is that a wild doe came from the mountain every day in answer to St. Kevin's prayer and filled the hollow with milk to feed the infant of a workman whose wife had died. This is only a modern version of the legend, told in the Irish lives, that at St. Kevin's command the doe left her milk daily in a hollow stone for his fosterling, the infant Faelan. The hollow stone is an addition put into the legend by the composer of the Irish life; in the earlier Latin life the story is told in a simpler form which is common to many of the saints' lives: at the saint's prayer a wild doe comes from the mountain to be milked.²³

The connection between hollow stones and the story of the deer is found elsewhere. There is a stone called *cloch na h-eilte* at Tullylease, Co. Cork; the legend is that a deer used to fill the hollow in it with milk for the workmen when they were building the church.²⁴ A story very like the Deer Stone legend is in the late Latin life of St. Mochulleus, of Tulla, Co. Clare. A doe led him to the site of his church; in levelling the foundation he came on a stone with a polished surface and a deep hollow like a large ewer (*hydria*); the doe used to come every day to this hollow as if to a milking pail (*mulcrum*), and leave its milk in it of its own accord (*uberibus spontanea voluntate lac eodem distillare*), in order to nourish the saint and a sick brother whom he had with him.²⁵ Another story of this class is the one I have mentioned about the Glas Ghaibhneach being milked into the basins in the stone at Kilmalkedar.

That rock-basins were mysterious objects and that the people had no recollection of the purpose they served is clear enough from the stories that were told about them. Sometimes the hollows are said to have been made by a saint's knees, as in the Gortavoher stone. A stone with two hollows, about two miles south of Kilkenny, is called Glun Padraig or St. Patrick's Knees.²⁶ The same sort of story is told about a stone in Wales; there are several large artificial oval basin-shaped hollows in it, and the legend is that they were made by the heads of saints who sheltered against the stone. This is near the old gold workings at Gogofau in Carmarthen-

²²*Journal*, xxxiv (1904) 190-1.

²³See the references in Plummer, *V.S.H.*, i p. cxliv. That the Deer Stone is the hollow stone about which the story was told is not certain; the Irish life says the stone was at *Inis Eilte*, 'the doe's milking-place,' but this name is not known now. It is possible that the name, the Deer Stone, was taken from the books in the 18th century when attention was first directed to the ruins and was then given to this stone. On the other hand the stone may have been one of the stations of the pattern, and the name may have been handed down by tradition.

²⁴*Ulster Jnl. of Archaeology*, 1st Ser., vi (1858) 274. There is a drain hole in this stone.

²⁵*Analecta Bollandiana* xvii p. 141: see an article by Westropp, *Journal*, xli (1911) at p. 5.

²⁶*Journal*, xiv (1877) 200. According to Shearman, these are natural hollows in the limestone rock.

shire; the writer suggests that the hollows were produced in the process of crushing the ore.²⁷ As Lacaille says of the folklore associated with the Scottish stones, "that story should have become attached to so many is already an indication, if not of considerable antiquity, at least of the passing from memory of their purpose".²⁸

The basins in most of the stones mentioned above are undoubtedly artificial. The broken one (Plate X 5) shows the usual shape. One does, however, find rounded cavities which have been produced by natural agencies. Lacaille gives examples of natural rock-basins;²⁹ he prints a photograph of a limestone boulder in Co. Laoighis showing two deep hollows; these look artificial but the Geological Survey notes that this limestone weathers out into holes along lines of bedding. He reproduces drawings of basins which have been formed by weathering in granite, but these are usually of a rather irregular shape. The basin in the middle of the stone at Glassamucky Mountain (Plate XII 5, 6) could hardly have been produced by weathering, but it is probably weathering that has partly broken away the basin at the edge of the stone, and this may also account for the broken basins at the edge of the Gortavoher stone. At Glanreemore in Co. Wicklow there are hollows in the slaty rock in the bed of the stream which the local people regard as artificial, one circular one in particular being very evenly shaped; but there can be little doubt that in fact they have all been formed by the action of water.

Expert examination would be necessary to decide whether the basins in the limestone boulder at Meelaghans are natural or artificial.³⁰ A stone near Kilree church, Co. Kilkenny, which I was told was called Glunbride, is a small boulder of limestone with irregular hollows in it which are obviously natural. Limestone is especially liable to weather into these rounded hollows. In the Burren district on the borders of Co. Clare and Co. Galway this produces the natural basins which Mr. Westropp speaks of. It is there and in the Aran Islands that the word *ballán* is used by Irish speakers for a round hole in a rock. As Joyce says,³¹ it is this word which has been borrowed by modern antiquarians who use 'bullaun' to mean an artificial rock-basin. Perhaps this modern sense of the word originated among persons who were familiar with the hollows in the limestone of the Burren. It would not have come from Co. Mayo, for, as Professor Delargy has kindly informed me, Irish speakers there do not use the word *ballán* in this sense.

²⁷*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th Ser., x (1893) 93: 4th Ser., ix (1878) 322.

²⁸*loc. cit.*, p. 57.

²⁹*loc. cit.*, pp. 58-60. The Co. Laoighis boulder, which he describes as at "Coolrain, Ballaghmore", appears to be the large stone near Kyle graveyard, close to the Co. Tipperary border, which O'Donovan, writing in the Queen's Co. O.S. Letters, describes as having five holes: "tradition says that they are the impression of the saint [Molua's] knees, head and elbows, when at prayer". This graveyard is the site of the ancient monastery of Cluain fería Molua.

³⁰See note 14 above.

³¹*Social History of Ancient Ireland*, ii 78: *Irish Names of Places*, iii 152.

It is possible, however, that some word similar to *ballán* was in use for these basin-stones in the 17th century. The three Irish lives of St. Kevin tell the story of the doe leaving her milk in a hollow stone. Two of them have *isin cloich thuill*, *ar cloich thuill*, 'in (or on) a hollow stone'; the third has *ar chloich tholta*, 'on a hollowed stone'. A copy of this third life was made in Cork in 1627 by a scribe who, as Plummer says,³² was not content to be a mere copyist, and in this phrase he has altered the word *tholta* into *phollta*; the literal meaning of this would be 'pierced, perforated', which would not seem to be the sense that the story requires. If the change to *phollta* has any significance, it would suggest that he knew some such word as *pollán* for these basins.

Most of the stones in which 'bullauns' are found are boulders which are too large to be moved; sometimes they are large blocks which can be handled even though they are heavy. Two of the stones at St. Kevin's Church have round stones in them, and so has one of the stones at Glendalough House, Drummin, but I doubt if these have any significance; the district is full of water-worn rounded stones, and it is quite likely that somebody saw a stone that would fit a basin and put it into it. As Crawford says,³³ they could not be used for grinding, for they are so large that they crush the fingers. Anyone can find this out by experiment. If the basins were intended for grinding, some smaller implement must have been used.

Crawford suggests that these large round stones were used for 'turning', like the stones in St. Bridget's Stone at Blacklion. There are, however, two stones at Glendalough with a basin on each side, which have met at the bottom and broken through the stone; one of these is shown in Plate X 4. A similar stone is recorded from Devenish, Co. Fermanagh. A stone from Aghalee old church, Co. Antrim, has two basins hollowed on opposite sides, but these have not broken through.³⁴ The boulder called St. Columb's Stone at Derry has two artificial oval hollows on each side.³⁵

The explanation usually given, as Crawford says, for the curious feature of the two Glendalough stones is that the hollow became too deep for the purpose it was intended to serve, and that the stone was turned over and a fresh basin was formed on the opposite side. The suggestion that the stones were used for 'turning' would hardly account for these cases where basins on opposite sides have broken into one another. They would seem to imply a grinding process, continued until it broke through the stone.

Wakeman thought that 'bullauns' were to be associated with cup-marks and concentric circles, and he describes some stones on which basins and markings of this kind are found together.³⁶ He includes the hollows in the large stone troughs found in the passage-graves at Newgrange and

³²*Bethada Naem nEreann*, i, pp. xii, xiii.

³³*Journal*, xliii (1913) 267.

³⁴*Ulster Jnl. of Archaeol.*, 3rd Ser., iii (1940) 112, and Fig. 3 on p. 111.

³⁵*Ordnance Survey Memoir of Londonderry*, 1837, p. 26. The writer adds that stones with hollows of this kind are found in the vicinity of most Irish churches.

³⁶*Journal*, xiii (1875) 445-470; also xii (1873) 510-2.

Sliabh na Caillighe; these are, however, quite different from 'bullauns'. Among his cup-marked stones he illustrates some curious slabs with small shallow depressions from the paving of a cist which contained a cinerary urn. Could these have perhaps been used for grinding pigments?

Westropp mentions an artificial basin in a stone which is in front of a megalith at Newgrove, in Tulla parish, Co. Clare.³⁷ Professor de Valera has kindly informed me, however, that this stone does not form portion of the tomb and that it is very doubtful whether it has any connection with the original monument.

Lacaille mentions artificial basins which accompany prehistoric rock-carvings in Scotland, some of them in association with cup-marks. One of Wakeman's illustrations shows a stone of this kind at Pubble, near Tempo, Co. Fermanagh. These prehistoric basins are rare, however, in comparison with ordinary 'bullaun' stones, like those which I have illustrated.

Many 'bullaun' stones were believed to have the power of healing diseases; stories about some of them have been noticed above. The tradition that the water in them would cure warts was very general. Stones in Scotland were also said to have curative powers. The water in a partly natural basin at Killin, in Perthshire, was said to cure whooping-cough.³⁸ There was a tradition about two stones near Inverness that their virtues would aid childless women who bathed in their waters; one of them, at Killianan, near Abriachan, was said to have been used by St. Columba as a font; the other is near the church of Arpafeelie; the usual folk-story was told about the disturbances which occurred when it was moved.³⁹ It was only in the 18th century that observers began to publish stories about these cures, but the traditional beliefs were no doubt much older. The use of water in a hollow stone to cure diseases is mentioned in two of the Latin lives of the saints, the miraculous power in each case being attributed to a hollow made in the stone by the head of the infant saint.⁴⁰

Basin-stones were formerly in common use for preparing food in Scotland, and less commonly in Ireland. Basins in roughly shaped blocks were used for bruising furze in places in the north of Ireland. Mr. Hewson's note, which I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, has a photograph of one in Rathlin Island, which was said to have been used "for bruising whins, oats, for food stuff for horses, etc."; another was then (1938) "still in use as a mortar for the bruising of cereals for human and animal consumption". Mitchell writing in 1880 shows a 'knockin' stane' which he saw being used in Shetland, and Curwen gives a photograph, taken in 1902, of a man using one in the island of Foula.⁴¹ These were heavy roughly shaped stones with hollows in them. The implement employed was a wooden pounder or

³⁷P.R.I.A. xx (1897) 547, and Plate IX; xxiv (1902) 109, 114.

³⁸Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., xviii (1883-4) 372.

³⁹*ibid.*, xvi (1881-2) 377, 386.

⁴⁰Plummer, *V.S.H.*, i p. 34 (Aed mac Brice); ii p. 36 (Declan). These are probably compilations of the eleventh or twelfth centuries (see Kenney, pp. 313, 393).

⁴¹*The Past in the Present*, p. 44; Antiquity, XI (1937) Plate I facing p. 136.

mallet; Mitchell illustrates one which is very carefully shaped. A description from St. Kilda, Outer Hebrides, of pounding barley in a mortar to remove the husks says it was done with a wooden pestle studded with nails.⁴² Kinahan when in Donegal in 1883 found that stone basins were being used there "for crushing oats into meal or malt for illicit distillery purposes, the pestle they use being an iron one made by the country smith", like an apothecary's pestle.⁴³

Hollows in boulders were used in the same way for preparing food, for example at Colonsay island, off the south-west coast of Scotland.⁴⁴ Lacaille mentions a rock-basin in Argyllshire which had been used as a mortar; the basin was cut in a flat rock-outcrop, almost on the threshold of a cottage.⁴⁵ In a note he mentions a communal mortar which he saw in Jamaica, and examples from America of rocks containing several basins are given by Bennett and Elton.⁴⁶ Stone basins were used for preparing food in all parts of the world. I have seen a picture taken recently in Indonesia of grain being pounded in a stone mortar with a wooden pestle which looks just the same as the pestle shown on an ancient Greek vase (Plate XIII 3, reproduced from RIG 1918 i p. 19).

What we know about 'bullauns', then, is that they are basins or hollows, usually bowl-shaped, in rocks or boulders or heavy blocks of stone. Some of them seem to have been formed naturally, but the great majority are artificial. A few are found in association with prehistoric rock-carvings and are probably of Bronze Age date. In most cases, however, they are found in boulders which are at or near early church sites. There is no evidence to show when these were first made. Passages in 11th or 12th century lives of the saints show that already at that time legends had become attached to them. In more recent times we find various stories told about the hollows being made by supernatural means, or about the miraculous purposes for which they were used: the water in them could heal diseases, or cure barrenness in women: turning stones in them could bring a curse on the person against whom the stones were turned. In remote districts of Scotland they have been used within the past 150 years for pounding barley and preparing food, and they were used in the same way in some places in Ireland.

There is very little in this to throw light on the purposes for which 'bullauns' were originally made or used. It is a question which has aroused a good deal of interest, and different conjectures have been put forward which, of course, is all that can be done, seeing that there is so little

⁴²Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., lxii (1927-8) 132. Stone mortars were used for de-husking barley in Switzerland: R. Wildhaber, *Gerstenmörser, Gerstenstampfe, Gerstenwalze*, in *Schweiz. Archiv f. Volkskunde*, XLV (1948) pp. 196-9. I am obliged to Mr. A. T. Lucas for kindly showing me this latter paper.

⁴³*Journal*, xvi (1883) 174.

⁴⁴Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., xv (1880-1) 132.

⁴⁵*loc. cit.*, p. 57.

⁴⁶*History of Corn Milling*, vol. I pp. 5, 7.



Photo : L.P.

1.

a. 'The Seven Fonts'



2.

Photo : G. Stacpoole.



3. b.

'Bullauns', Glendalough



4. d.

Photos : G. Stacpoole.



1. g.



2. f.



3. h.



4. k.



5. k.

'Bullauns', Glendalough

Photos : G. Stacpoole.

evidence. Lacaille's paper is mainly descriptive; he appears to regard rock-basins as intended for domestic use, except when they occur in connection with cup-markings or prehistoric rock-carvings; but he does not offer any opinion about their use in antiquity.

A paper published some years ago stresses the ritual purposes for which the stones were employed, and suggests that the 'bullaun' is a development of the cup-mark, and that its origin is to be sought in the megalithic cult.⁴⁷ The evidence for this, however, is slight. It is a common belief that 'bullauns' could cure warts, but so could other stones; some of the 'wart-stones' have rectangular cavities and were undoubtedly the sockets of crosses. From this it appears that stones belonging to the Christian period could become objects of superstition once people had forgotten what they really were. A curious example of healing powers being attributed to an object the use of which had been forgotten is recorded from Scotland; two stones of white quartz, which were originally sockets in which the vertical axles of millstones turned, were believed by the local people to have the power of curing inflammation of the breasts.⁴⁸

Crawford makes an important observation on this subject of cures in a note about a stone at Killerry, Co. Sligo.⁴⁹ This is a flat slab, with round stones lying on it: the tradition was that in order to cure strained sinews these stones should be turned while a prayer was said. Crawford notes that there was said to be a spring of water under the slab, but that in fact there was no sign of water; "the assertion that there is water under the stone may", he says, "be due to a general idea that water in some form should be associated with monuments of the kind". This may be the explanation of the cures; it was probably to the water in the 'bullauns' or other cavities that curative properties were ascribed, by an extension of the widely held belief in the healing power of the water of holy wells.

The paper referred to also suggests that the turning of stones for cursing shows the pagan origin of 'bullauns'. Wakeman records this tradition about St. Bridget's Stone at Blacklion, but I have not found it told of any other 'bullaun'. It is not a practice specially connected with 'bullaun' stones. At Inismurray the stones called 'cursing stones' are lying on flat slabs on the top of the *clocha breaca* altar. There was a cursing stone at Kilcummin, near Killala, Co. Mayo, which is well remembered in local tradition even at the present day; this was a flat stone, said to measure about two feet by 18 inches, which was turned over by the person invoking the curse;⁵⁰ the superstition was so strongly attached to it that it was removed from the graveyard to prevent people using it. At Killerry the turning of the stones on the slab was done in order to effect a cure. There was a basin-stone at Kilcatrine church ruin on Colonsay, and near it were

⁴⁷Crozier and Rea, *Bullauns and other Basin-Stones*, Ulster Jnl. of Archaeol., 3rd Ser. iii (1940) 104-114: see p. 111.

⁴⁸Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., xviii (1883-4) 375.

⁴⁹Journal, xliii (1913) 267.

⁵⁰Journal, xxviii (1898) 297.

some small bits of pavement with holes through them; a practice existed of turning a pear-shaped stone sunwise in the largest piece of pavement, but the people did not say what they turned the stones for. In an old chapel on the island of Rona there was a plank of wood with holes in it, and stones on the holes.⁵¹ In these two instances the stones may have been turned for the purpose of obtaining some advantage, as at Killerry. The practice of turning stones looks like a survival from pre-Christian times of some half-forgotten magical rite, but the evidence does not show that it had any primary association with 'bullaun' stones.

The evidence put forward by the writers in this paper to show that "bullauns played an important role in the old fertility worship" seems equally unsatisfactory. In the case of the two stones near Inverness, at Killianan and Arpafeelie, which have been mentioned above, the tradition was that bathing in the water in them would aid childless women. This is an example of healing properties, similar to the power of curing barrenness which is attributed to some holy wells. The suggestion is also made that a connection with fertility rites is evident in the case of a stone at Monea, near Ardmore, Co. Waterford. The story told about the stone seems to show phallic symbolism. "It is a stone of about 2 feet long by 18 inches in breadth, and 18 inches in depth, and is hollowed into an oval trough-like shape—probably an old Pagan 'rock-basin'. . . . There is a hole in its centre, in which, on Ash Wednesday, the sporting bachelors of the village stuck a wattle with a quantity of tow tied to its top; they . . . brought with them all the old maidens they could muster, and made them dance round . . . holding the pendent tow"; they then dragged them through the village seated on old logs of wood.⁵² I have not seen this stone, but it does not seem to be an ordinary 'bullaun'; a drawing of it is given by Westropp; he says it resembles a rude cross-base, and that is certainly what his illustration looks like.

Brash regarded this as the remnant of some old phallic rite. However, if the stone was a cross-base, the ceremony obviously was not originally associated with it. In any case it seems probable that this Ardmore performance is to be explained as a transference of old superstitions to an object the purpose of which was no longer known. It may be another decayed survival of some sort of prehistoric rite, but that such practices were originally connected with 'bullaun' stones is very doubtful. More probably it was because the purpose of such stones had faded from memory that legends became attached to them.

In many of the notes which have been published about 'bullaun' stones, the writers have described them as baptismal fonts. It is difficult, however, to accept this explanation. There is not much published information about early Irish fonts. The few of which there is any knowledge have

⁵¹Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., xv (1880-1) 120-1.

⁵²Fitzgerald, *Journal*, iv (1856), 43: quoted by Brash, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 119. Westropp's description and illustration, *Journal*, xxxiii (1903) 375, 377. Canon Power also thought it was a cross-base: *Place-Names of Decies*, 73.

little resemblance to 'bullaugns'. A very unusual one, which seems to be old, is the large granite basin at Tallaght, Co. Dublin; it is 5 ft. 5 ins. long and the bowl is 1 ft. 4 ins. deep. O'Curry thought it was used for the baptism of adults. The stone vessel at Kiltiernan church, Co. Dublin, which is illustrated by Wakeman, seems to be a font; it is shaped like a bowl, and it has a drain-hole. At Killeslin, Co. Laoighis, there is a font with a funnel-shaped basin 16 ins. in diameter and 16 ins. deep; the stone is circular and has three plain bands carved round the outer surface; there is a drain-hole in the bottom, and a socket on the rim which was probably intended to hold a lid. It is difficult to say, however, whether this is a pre-Norman or a post-Norman font, since Killeslin church was in use up to the 16th century and later. The same difficulty arises about giving a date to the broken font which is lying in the old graveyard at Rathnew, Co. Wicklow; the stone is circular in shape, and it has a round basin, 18 ins. in diameter and 10 ins. deep, with a drain-hole in the bottom.⁵³

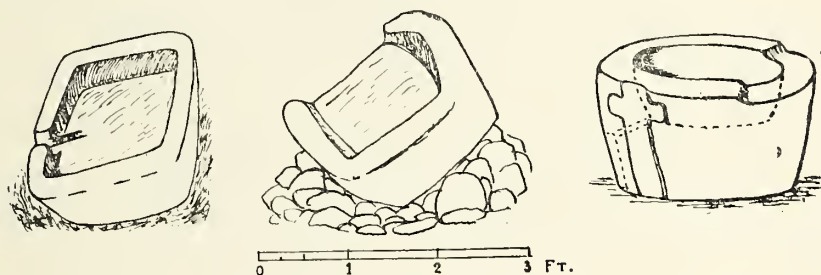


Fig. 3. Fonts, Co. Wicklow

Rosahane.

Inchinappa.

Ballymaghroe.

Some other examples are almost certainly post-Norman, such as the large square font at Kilmosanctan church in Glenasmole, Co. Dublin; it is like the one not far away at Cruagh, which is described by Ball; there is a broken font of much the same type at Clondalkin.⁵⁴ Some fonts in Co. Wicklow also appear to be post-Norman; one at Killiskey was octagonal in shape, though it is now very badly weathered; it has a circular basin, 20 ins. in diameter and 8 ins. deep, with a drain-hole at the side, and there are two slots in the upper surface evidently meant for holding a lid. Figure 3 gives sketches of three others, copied from rough drawings which I made on the spot when visiting the sites. The vessel at Rosahane has a slit and a groove at one side; if it was a font, as its appearance suggests, it presumably had a lining. The Inchinappa vessel is broken. Part of the rim of the Ballymaghroe font has been chipped away; there are two crosses in relief placed

⁵³Tallaght: *Journal*, xxix (1899) 102; Ball, *Hist. of Co. Dublin*, iii 45. Kiltiernan: *Journal*, xxi (1891) 700, and plate facing p. 699. Killeslin: *Journal*, lv (1925) 94; J. Kildare Arch. Soc., vi (1909) 199. Rathnew: *Journal*, lviii (1928), plate facing p. 139.

⁵⁴Cruagh: Ball, *loc. cit.*, iii 53. Clondalkin: J. Kildare Arch. Soc., v (1906-8) 4, and photograph at p. 11.

opposite to one another on the outside of it. There is a font in the Cistercian Abbey at Baltinglass which is like this one in shape but is not ornamented.⁵⁵

The name 'The Seven Fonts' is given on the Ordnance map to the remarkable group of boulders at Glendalough (Plate IX 1, 2), but there can hardly be any doubt that this is a mistake; the carefully shaped rectangular trough with three basins in the bottom could not have been made for use as a font. Boulders with several basins, like that at Kilmalkedar (Plate XIII 1), are most unlikely to have been fonts; and except for the number of basins there is no difference in type between them and the numerous 'bullaun' stones which have only one basin.

Although at an early period on the continent special baptisteries were built over running water, it was not until the 9th century that fonts came into general use. In Ireland and in Wales the practice of the early saints was to administer baptism in rivers or springs. A few of the fonts that have survived in Wales are said to be early, but one writer goes so far as to suggest that there were no pre-Norman fonts there: "We could only expect the Font when Christianity had become settled and organized. But organization, diocesan and parochial, in the Welsh Church, came with the Normans".⁵⁶

Some unornamented basin-stones are included among the illustrations in a paper on Scottish Baptismal Fonts, but the writer does not date them.⁵⁷ Lacaille speaks of Scottish pre-Reformation fonts as ranging "from rude hollowed boulders to well-executed shapely vessels"; but he appears to doubt that any of them are of great antiquity. Some vessels which are described as fonts of Norman date he considers to be heavy mediaeval mortars.⁵⁸

If the rock-basins which are found at so many old churches in Ireland were made for use as baptismal fonts, it seems difficult to understand how their purpose came to be so quickly forgotten that fanciful stories were already being told about them in the 11th and 12th centuries.

The suggestion that 'bullaun' stones were simply mortars used for the preparation of food has often been made. A writer in our Journal nearly a century ago said that they were generally supposed to be very rude and very ancient fonts, but that he felt dissatisfied with this, and had "come to the conclusion that they were rude mortars, in which the priests living in connexion with such churches, in a very early age after the introduction of Christianity, had ground their corn for food", the grinding being done in the shallow hollows by turning a stone on them, and in the deep hollows with a pestle formed from hard timber.⁵⁹

Dr. Raftery has expressed an opinion to very much the same effect: "The percentage of associations of bullauns and early monastic sites leads

⁵⁵J. Kildare Arch. Soc., v (1906-8) 411.

⁵⁶Archaeologia Cambrensis, 6th Ser. xvii (1917) at p. 273.

⁵⁷Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot., xxi (1886-7) 346-448.

⁵⁸Lacaille, *loc. cit.*, p. 67, and pp. 47-8.

⁵⁹Dr. Martin of Portlaw, Co. Waterford: *Journal*, xiii (1875) 438.

one to believe that they were mainly for use in connection with the grinding or pounding of herbs or roots in such establishments though they were in all probability known and used earlier".⁶⁰

This explanation, that the basins were mortars, is of course just as conjectural as the other theories, but on the whole it seems less open to objection.

I have mentioned the use of rock-basins in the Scottish islands for making pot-barley, that is, barley from which the outer husks have been removed. An account of the way the barley was beaten with a wooden mallet until the husks were rubbed off is given in an article written in 1900.⁶¹ The people of Colonsay in 1881 described how the basins were used. One was in "a large earthfast boulder stone several tons weight. In the middle of the stone is an artificial round hole or basin about 12 inches deep and the same wide. Alexander M'Neill . . . pointed out the stone. He said that in his young days pot barley was made in the hole in the stone by beating it with a wooden hammer having a long handle, some water being put into the hole along with the rough barley. Pot barley was last made in this stone about forty years ago. The stone stood in the open air and was common to all the neighbourhood, each person waiting their turn, the work being mostly done by women. Mrs. Archibald M'Neill, wife of the farmer on Garvard Farm, and a native of the island, also explained the process, having seen her mother making it. . . . Archibald M'Neill, fisherman, Riskbuie, remembers his mother and other persons having used the one in Riskbuie burying-ground. . . . Knocking stones were all outside the dwellings, and were round holes or basins in some convenient earthfast boulder stone or rock; sometimes they were natural holes or partly so, but oftenest artificially made. Mr. James Munn, the old weaver in Kilchattan, pointed out three, one of which he had made himself". The boulder near Kilcatrine church had a hole in one side of it, like the barley knocking stones; it was said to have been the priest's baptismal font. It was near this boulder that the pear-shaped stone which was turned in a piece of pavement was lying.

I have not found any references in Ireland to rock-basins in large boulders being used for preparing food (unless perhaps it was basins of this type that Kinahan was referring to). Heavy stones like the knocking stones described by Mitchell and Curwen are found in Ireland, especially in the north, but they are not as common as the rock-basin. I think, however, that we are entitled to take into consideration the evidence from Scottish islands where primitive practices survived down to recent times; investigations into old customs there were carried out in the past more realistically than in Ireland; there is no Irish work to correspond to Martin's *Western Islands*, which was published in 1703. No evidence exists either in Scotland or in

⁶⁰*Prehistoric Ireland* (1951), p. 50.

⁶¹*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxxiv (1899-1900) 481. Colonsay: *ibid.*, xv (1880-1) 132; for the stone at Kilcatrine, see above, p. 173.

Ireland to show that rock-basins were used in antiquity for preparing food; but the accounts that have been given of their use for making pot barley and for mashing potatoes, cabbage and other vegetables in a number of remote districts and islands of Scotland suggest that the custom was once more widespread.

In Wales, rock-basins are very rare, according to a writer who describes one near Carmarthen, at a place called *Parc y Ceryg Sanctaidd* ('the field of the holy stones'), the water from which, according to tradition, was sprinkled on coffins at funerals; he notes another one, a flat recumbent stone with two cups, at Pendine Head, Carmarthenshire.⁶² The stone at Gogofau, in the same county, has been mentioned above. One wonders whether the scarcity of such stones could have anything to do with the fact that very few remains of early monastic sites have been preserved in Wales; for instance, no trace has been found of the monastery of Bangor, or of St. Cadog's monastic settlement at Llancarfan or St. Illtud's at Llantwit Major.

There is a curious stone at Llanthony in Monmouthshire with three small basins 4 to 5 ins. in diameter and 2½ to 3 ins. deep;⁶³ but the stone has been carefully cut to shape, and it could not, in its present form, be regarded as a basin stone of the 'bullau' type. Possibly it was a piscina.

Unlike Scotland, stone basins do not seem to have been used for any purpose in recent times in Wales. Many rough stone mortars like knocking stones, however, are known from old settlement sites. A collection of mortars, quern stones, and stone pounders from Holy Island, off Anglesea, is shown in the illustration (Plate XIV 1) which I have reproduced from Bennett and Elton's book; it may be compared with the illustration of Scottish stones found in the brochs at Keiss, Caithness.⁶⁴ Stone mortars are also found on late Roman sites in Britain. One is shown among the Roman *mortaria* in the British Museum. I have seen another among the *mortaria* in the Museum at Chesters in Northumberland which has a bowl 8 or 9 inches in diameter. There are also in this Museum two large stones with deep basins, and there is another large stone like them outside the settlement which adjoins the Roman fort at Housesteads; the bowl in this one appears to have been chiselled out (Plate XIV 2).

The *mortarium* of coarse pottery is an object which turns up in great quantities at Roman sites. It was a kitchen utensil, and its use in Roman Britain for preparing food must have been universal. These mortars were either imported from Gaul or else came from some of the numerous places in Britain where pottery was manufactured. After the barbarian invasions and general disorder of the 4th and 5th centuries in Britain and Gaul the supply of pottery *mortaria* must have come to an end, but mortars were still wanted, and the local people evidently made stone ones for themselves in Wales and elsewhere.

⁶²Archaeol. Cambrensis, 6th Ser. vii (1907) 269, 272. Gogofau: above, p. 168.

⁶³*ibid.*, 4th Ser. viii (1877), figure facing p. 153.

⁶⁴*History of Corn Milling*, vol. I, p. 1. Keiss: *Journal*, xxix (1899) 341.

The *mortarium* was perhaps meant to be fitted into a hole in a table or into a wooden stand. Some stone mortars imitate its shape more or less. Other roughly made ones were found fixed in the ground, which would of course keep them steady if materials were being pounded in them. The large roughly shaped stone at Housesteads was heavy enough to stand firmly by itself, like the Scottish knocking stones; such stones, though very unwieldy, had the advantage that they could if necessary be moved from one place to another.

Many stone mortars are known from post-Roman sites in Anglesea. What is more interesting for the study of rock-basins is that two examples have been recorded of a large block of stone having a basin made in it after it had ceased to be used for its original purpose. One is a stone which was found by Wheeler in the course of his excavation of the ruins of the Roman fort of Segontium (the modern Carnarvon). It is a column capital in which a basin has been hollowed out for use as a mortar; it was found on a 4th century floor.⁶⁵ The basin appears to be 6 or 7 ins. in diameter. Plate XIV 3, which is copied from the photograph in the report, shows the stone. The other stone was found in the Roman fort at Caerhun, near Carnarvon; it is described as a broken Roman column capital hollowed out, probably in Romano-British times, to form a mortar. No dimensions are given.⁶⁶

Thus there is some evidence for the existence in the post-Roman period in Britain of basins hollowed out in large stones, as well as of mortars. I would suggest that these are the ancestors of the rock-basin and the knocking stone. Over most of the country they must in the course of time have been replaced by the ordinary domestic mortar which was in use in every house; as Lacaille says, "for centuries the preparation in mortars of home necessities and food for animals was part of household and farmstead routine". But these were carefully made vessels, and they did not reach the remote localities where Mitchell and others found the knocking stone and the rock-basin; the people there went on using primitive appliances, perhaps through conservatism, but probably chiefly as a result of poverty.

In Ireland, however, there are no Roman settlements; what then have Roman mortars got to do with Irish 'bullauns'? The answer may be 'that the 'bullauns' served the same purpose. My suggestion is that the basins were made in imitation of the mortars of post-Roman Britain, and that they were intended for the preparation of food. In that case, who made them? Here the remarkable concentration of rock-basins at Glendalough seems significant, as well as the frequent occurrence of 'bullauns' at old church sites. I suggest that it was early Christian immigrants coming from Britain to Irish monastic communities who introduced the basins into Ireland for use as mortars.

⁶⁵Y Cymmrodor, xxxiii (1923) Fig. 51, and p. 129.

⁶⁶Archaeol. Cambrensis, 7th Ser. v (1925) 321.

British Christian slaves are mentioned in the life of one of the early Irish saints;⁶⁷ but there are also several references to British monks in the Lives. For example, a story in the life of Munnu of Taghmon, who died in 635, tells that a monk of British race lived in Munnu's community; he was a skilled carpenter and made wagons and other utensils for the brethren.⁶⁸ Sanctan, the bishop who had a church at Kilmosanctan in Glenasmole, is said to have been a Briton. In general, to quote Kenney, "the occurrence of an exodus to Ireland of Britons, especially of the clergy and learned classes, as a result of the Anglo-Saxon invasion, is not an unreasonable hypothesis"; and he speaks of the Church in Ireland as developing its ecclesiastical system in close relationship with the Christian Britons.⁶⁹ The Rev. J. Ryan, S.J., writes to the same effect: "We may regard it . . . as certain that in the opening half of the sixth century the relation between the [British and Irish] churches was largely that of master and disciple". Again, "The tradition of both countries is at one in declaring that in the sixth century the Irish were the borrowers".⁷⁰ He is speaking of matters of liturgy and ecclesiastical organisation, but it seems reasonable to suppose that, as well as Christian teaching, the British introduced features of ordinary Roman civilised life into the country. According to tradition, St. Modomnoc of Tibraghny, who was a pupil of St. David in the sixth century, introduced bees into Ireland.⁷¹ Whether the statement of Solinus that bees were not known in Ireland is true or not, this story shows that there was nothing strange in the idea that new refinements of life were brought from Britain at the time when there were very close contacts between Wales and eastern Ireland.

If people who hollowed out basins in the capitals of fallen columns in ruined Roman towns wanted to make mortars when they came to Ireland, where there were no such ruined buildings, why should they not use some of the boulders that were lying about everywhere?

If we suppose that Christians from Britain made the rock-basins for use as mortars, it would suggest that they had ways of preparing food which were not in use in Ireland at that early period. What information have we about the food that was used in Ireland in the sixth century, or about the way it was prepared? As regards mortars, very little seems to be known about them. The only recent records of mortars that I have found are in the excavation reports of the crannogs of Lagore and Ballinderry no. 2; these are four rather flat stones with very shallow bowls about 1 in. deep.⁷² Their date is not certain; they are not earlier than the 7th century and may be later. They do not look as if they were meant

⁶⁷Ailbe: Plummer, *V.S.H.* i p. 47.

⁶⁸*V.S.H.* ii p. 237; and see i p. cxxiv.

⁶⁹*The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, p. 171.

⁷⁰*Irish Monasticism*, pp. 108, 114.

⁷¹*Martyrology of Oengus*, Feb. 13.

⁷²Ballinderry, P.R.I.A. 47 (1942) 65; Lagore, P.R.I.A. 53 (1950) 174.



1. m.

Photo : G. Stacpoole.



2. Stones in St. Kevin's Church

Photo : Mason.



3. m.

Photos : G. Stacpoole.



4.

'Bullauns', Glendalough



5. Killafeen

Photo : R. Barton.

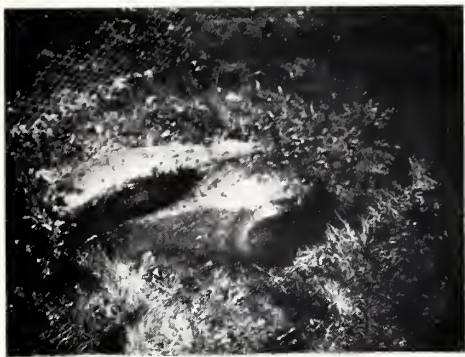


Photo : F. Henry.

1. Derrybawn, Glendalough



Photo : R. Barton.

2. Drumray



Photo : G. Stacpoole.

3. Derrylossary



Photo : L. P.

4. Crehelp

Co. Wicklow



Photos : A. Farrington.

5, 6. Glassamucky, Co. Dublin



Photo : F. Henry.

1. Kilmalkedar



Photo : A. Lucas.

2. Tobermacduach



3. Greek Vase
after RIG 1918, p 19.



Photo : G. Stacpoole.

4. Doughnambraher



[Welsh Stones at Twr Elin, Holy Island.—From a Sketch by Mr. E. W. *Cook*.]

1. Mortars from Anglesea

after *History of Corn Milling*



Photo : R. Going.

2. Housesteads, Northumberland



3. Roman capital re-used as a mortar
from *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xxxiii.

for pounding grain or vegetables. I have not found any account in Ireland of mortars of the Anglesea type which are shown in Plate XIV 1.

Documentary sources would hardly be likely to describe how food was prepared or to tell us what utensils people had. There is a story in the life of St. Kevin which might refer to a rock-basin, but it is not concerned with food. A smith belonging to the community was one day grinding a stone in a *mortella* when a chip broke off and flew up and blinded one of his eyes. Its sight was miraculously restored at the saint's prayer.⁷³ *Mortella* is a rare word which is believed to mean a mortar. It is possible that here it is used in the sense of a rock-basin, like those that are to be seen in the boulders at Glendalough.

Joyce gives an elaborate description of the food used in ancient Ireland, but he has only a few early references; they are to the 7th century (Adamnan, Muirchu).⁷⁴ St. Jerome's contemptuous reference to Pelagius as '*Scotorum pultibus praegravatus*' (written about 415-6) cannot be regarded as evidence about the food of the Irish at that time; it is only Jerome's emphatic way of calling him a clumsy primitive barbarian; *puls* was the word Latin writers used to describe the food of the primitive Romans. He had previously said the Scoti were cannibals; he calls them a British race.⁷⁵

I cannot point to anything in the Irish sources that would directly support the suggestion that the basins in 'bullau' stones were used for preparing food. What we know of the use of mortars in other countries, however, seems to show that this may have been what rock-basins were intended for. Bennett and Elton's *History of Corn Milling* deals at some length with the use of mortars in antiquity for grinding and pounding grain; corn continued to be pounded in them right down to the first century A.D. in Rome, and, as Curwen says, they could be used for pounding roots and vegetables as well as small grain. A poem attributed to Virgil describes a peasant crushing herbs in a mortar to prepare a particular kind of food, *moretum*, which was a savoury dish made of garlic, herbs, cheese, honey, etc., mashed up into a paste.⁷⁶ The rock-basin could very well have been used for making this sort of a dish.

Bennett and Elton quote a statement of Pliny's that in his day when corn was scarce acorns were ground and made into a kind of bread in Spain and other countries. Coming to recent times, they give a long description of the way the Yosemite Indians in North America prepared acorns for food; they hulled them and ground them into flour, and

⁷³*V.S.H.* i p. 241.

⁷⁴*Social History of Ancient Ireland*, ii 104-158.

⁷⁵Kennedy, *loc. cit.* pp. 138, 162. St. Jerome said he had seen the Scoti in Gaul. As Kennedy says, probably they were captives, or else barbarian auxiliaries enrolled in the Roman army.

⁷⁶*Moretum*: quoted in Bennett and Elton, I, p. 99. Curwen calls it "something suspiciously like a haggis": *Antiquity* XI (1937) 140.

treated this with boiling water to remove the bitterness; when sweet the flour was cooked and made into cakes.⁷⁷ Acorns are mentioned several times in the Irish Annals (e.g., *habundantia dairmesa*, AU 769). They were, of course, fed to pigs but one may suppose that in times of scarcity they were used for human food. Tacitus says that they were ground into meal in Gaul. Here the rock-basins might have been used, not only for the grinding, but also for removing the hull or outer skin.

More curious is an account of the use in Norway of crushed elm-bark for making a substitute for bread during times of famine. The bark was peeled from young branches not more than 2 or 3 years old, and it was dried and ground into meal, after the primary bark (*cortex*) had been removed with a knife. The writer suggests that the Vikings or the Anglo-Saxons might have introduced this elm-bark bread into Great Britain and Ireland, where famines often occurred.⁷⁸

The rock-basin could have been used for crushing beech nuts, or for pulping the vegetable known as *meacán*; this meant any edible root; it is glossed *radix* in the early glosses. It would be misleading to think of it as being like our parsnips or carrots; some of the roots used in the sixth century must have been very coarse and hard. *Praiseach*, meaning pottage or porridge, is derived from *brassica*, the Latin word for cabbage. There is a story in the notes to the Martyrology of Oengus about St. Columba in Iona eating *praiseach* made of nettles. Nettles were a common article of food, though in the time of the writer of the story (perhaps 12th century) the idea evidently was that only poor people would eat them. They might have been pounded in rock-basins. Hazel nuts were a common food, and we have evidence of their early use in Ireland, for they were found with cereal grains in the course of the excavation of the burial cairn at Baltinglass Hill, Co. Wicklow.⁷⁹ They might have been ground into a paste, perhaps with wild garlic and cheese or butter, something like the way the peasant made his *moretum*.

The Scottish islanders used the knocking stones and rock-basins for removing the husks from barley. Barley is recorded from the Bronze Age in Ireland.⁸⁰ It was grown from a very early period in Britain. It would appear, however, that soon after the end of the Roman period in Britain a change took place in the species of barley that was grown, as a result of which some method of removing the husks may have come into use.

A study of grain impressions in prehistoric pottery, and of finds of carbonised cereals, has been carried out in Britain and Ireland by two

⁷⁷*History of Corn Milling*, I, pp. 5, 115.

⁷⁸R. Nordhagen, *Ethnobotanical studies on barkbread*, pp. 303-4, in *Studies in Vegetational History in honour of Knud Jessen* (Copenhagen, 1954). I am obliged to Mr. G. F. Mitchell, F.T.C.D., for giving me the reference to this article.

⁷⁹P.R.I.A. 46C (1941) 227.

⁸⁰G. F. Mitchell, P.R.I.A. 55B (1953) 277.

Danish scholars.⁸¹ Their tabulated statements show firstly, that throughout the period investigated barley was the commonest grain, and secondly, that there was a change in the period after the late Bronze Age in the species of barley that was cultivated.

They record 335 impressions of barley grains out of a total number of 426, and they point out (p. 42) that "in the British-Irish finds naked barley has yielded much the greater number of the impressions in the early finds, whereas hulled barley prevails in the finds from the time after the Late Bronze Age. . . . From Anglo-Saxon times impressions of only three grains of naked barley compared with 80 of hulled barley have been seen". This is paralleled in Denmark, where "naked barley is still dominant in the Pre-Roman Iron Age, but it becomes markedly in the minority in the Roman Iron Age".

The figures they give for Ireland are small (naked barley 33, hulled barley 2). The two impressions of hulled barley were found on a food-vessel from Jamestown, Kiltiernan, Co. Dublin, on which there were also four impressions of naked barley.

Professor M. J. Gorman has kindly explained to me that the difference between the two species is, that in naked barley the kernel falls out of the hulls naturally and freely at maturity, while in hulled barley the grain consists of the kernel firmly enclosed by the hulls, and the hulls have to be removed by some mechanical treatment.

The growing of hulled barley would mean that less grain would be wasted in the fields, but it would be necessary to have some way of removing the husks. It would seem from Jessen and Helbaek's investigation that it was in the post-Roman period in Britain that the growing of hulled barley became general. At this time stone mortars were in use, and the descriptions of the use of knocking stones show that the dehusking could have been done by pounding it in mortars; so British Christians may have been in the habit of using mortars for the purpose. This is the time at which it is supposed that an exodus of British clergy and others to Irish monasteries was taking place. Hulled barley apparently existed in Ireland, though less commonly than the other kind. They might have made it a more widely known crop. In any case, if they needed to remove the husks from barley, it seems reasonable to suggest that they may have made basins in 'bullau' stones in order to do it.

The basins could also have been used for grinding grain, in the same way as it was ground in mortars before querns came into general use. There were, of course, querns at Glendalough; Plate XI 2 shows a large one. But in the sixth century they may still have been comparatively rare and expensive implements, and it may have been the rock-basin that was ordinarily

⁸¹Jessen and Helbaek, *Cereals in Great Britain and Ireland in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times*, D. Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskab, Biol. Skrifter, III 2 (1944). Also Helbaek, *Early Crops in Southern England*, Proc. Prehist. Soc. XVIII (1952) 194. The figures for all grain impressions recorded from Ireland are, Eincorn or Emmer, 13 (all Neolithic): Barley, 35 (nearly all Bronze Age).

used. Bennett and Elton's explanation seems to me to be convincing when, speaking of "the mystery" of St. Bridget's Stone at Blacklion (the so-called cursing stone), they say, "we may recognise in the relic nothing more than the common mealing stone of the early settlement on the site of Killinagh".⁸²

Perhaps the introduction of the quern may explain how it came about that as early as the 12th century some of the rock-basins were supposed to have supernatural powers. They may have ceased to be used for any kind of grinding as soon as the use of rotary querns became general. Once a rock-basin was abandoned, it would fill with water, and belief in the healing properties of the water might give rise to legend. It is difficult to say when rotary querns became common, but it must have been fairly early. At Cahercommaun, Co. Clare, a stone fort of ninth century date, two upper stones and 33 fragments of rotary querns were found; there were also 6 saddle querns, but nothing in the nature of a mortar.⁸³

Besides the great number of 'bullaun' stones at Glendalough itself, which Crawford commented on, there seems to be an unusual number in the surrounding lands which belonged to the monastery. What is known about the places where these stones are found suggests that it may have been the Glendalough monks who spread the use of them through the district. Killafeen, where there are two stones, is near the place where one of the roads to Glendalough crossed the river; the monks there belonged to St. Kevin's monastery, and according to the Irish Lives they supplied him with food. At Ballinabarny the Ordnance Map shows 'Site of Monastery'. There are no remains at the site, and no local traditions; but it is only half a mile from the stone at Ballintombay Lower called 'the wart stone', which has been described as being in Ballinabarny. I believe it is the place to which the Lives say St. Kevin sent Cellach the monk. It is probable that this stone and the other stones in Ballintombay mark the site of Cellach's hermitage, Cill Cheallaigh, and that this also was an outlying settlement of monks from Glendalough.

In the townland of Drummin there are five stones on the high ground called Drumray, and another a short distance to the east, near a spot which is known as St. Kevin's road. Mr. R. C. Barton kindly informs me that

⁸²It may be of interest to note Jessen and Helbaek's general statements on the subject of wheat: "From Ireland no evidence is known so far of prehistoric wheat" (1944, p. 38): "all over southern England . . . impressions and carbonized grains of Emmer, Spelt, Naked barley (especially), and Hulled barley" were found to have been recorded as Bread Wheat (1952, p. 201). They mention "specimens of grain" from Baltinglass Hill (1944, p. 11), but do not identify them, although in the Excavation Report (*supra*, note 79) the carbonised grain found there is described as *Triticum vulgare* (wheat). Pending further investigation it is perhaps safer not to rely on this find as evidence that Bread Wheat was grown in ancient Ireland. More recently, however, impressions of Bread Wheat on a food vessel are reported from Fourknocks (Hartnett, *Excavation of a Passage Grave at Fourknocks*, P.R.I.A. 58C (1957) p. 259). Oats are not recorded at all from Ireland by Jessen and Helbaek, nor from Britain before the Early Iron Age.

⁸³H. Hencken, *Cahercommaun*, p. 60.

there are marks of old tillage and field banks on Drumray, and that although he has been trying for many years to find out when the ridge was cultivated, no traditions about it have been preserved even by the oldest men in the district, though they still remember who the people were who grew potatoes and oats on the high slopes of the other hills around more than 100 years ago, before the famine. The name St. Kevin's road, I believe, marks part of an old track which led over the mountain by Killalane south-westwards to Glendalough. I suggest that these stones, and the stone at Killalane, show that some of the monks established themselves near the old road, and that the place where they settled at Drumray was inhabited for many centuries afterwards. It might be the same as the place called Cnockre, where one of the followers of Phelim McFeagh O'Toole of Castlekevin lived in 1601; the marks of tillage may be vestiges remaining from the early 17th century.⁸⁴

There is a persistent local tradition that St. Kevin lived for a time near Lough Tay, and it has been said that there were ruins of a monastery in the Luggala valley. No trace is to be seen there of any such building, and the Lives contain nothing which would support the tradition. The double 'bullaun' at Cloghoge, however, is about half a mile south of Lough Tay in the valley between Luggala and Lough Dan. If there was a settlement of monks from Glendalough at this place, it would account for the tradition that St. Kevin had lived in the valley. The actual site might have been forgotten; this stone might be the only thing remaining to mark it.

The monks in such settlements, who were no doubt in search of solitude and the ascetic life, had to provide themselves with food. Perhaps they also helped to supply the parent monastery. When the great monastic orders were established in Ireland at a much later date, granges were set up on their lands and farmed by the monks. Is it too far-fetched to suppose that the men at the head of our early monasteries had some similar way of obtaining meal or other provisions from these little outlying communities?

I have suggested that the Glendalough 'bullauns' were made by British Christians. But it may be objected that St. Kevin had no contacts with Britain. There is no tradition of his having studied in Britain or of British saints having visited Glendalough.⁸⁵

The Irish Life does have a reference to Britain: "many kings and chiefs among the kings of Ireland and of Britain chose to be buried in Glendalough". This may be only a way of saying how important the monastery was; it may have no significance. It is not said, however, of any

⁸⁴*Place-Names of Co. Wicklow, Ballinacor North*, p. 36 (Killaheen): p. 16 (Cill Cheallaigh); p. 35 (Drumray, Cnockre).

⁸⁵Ussher, in a passage to which Miss Henry has kindly drawn my attention, says that Coemgen (St. Kevin), according to the writer of his Life, received instruction from his 7th to his 12th year from St. Petroc of Cornwall (*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, c. xvii: Ussher's Works, ed. Elrington, VI (1831) p. 83). There is nothing to this effect in any of the five known versions of the Life of Coemgen. Petroc was a British saint who is said to have spent 20 years in Ireland.

of the other well known cemeteries; this is the only place in the saints' Lives, so far as I know, where such a claim is made. The Life of St. Carthach lays stress on the great numbers of British who came to be monks with him, but nothing to this effect is said about his place of burial.

It would be a mistake, however, to confine ourselves to what we are told about St. Kevin, when trying to investigate the early history of Glendalough. Other saints have a part in the story; St. Berach is one. Later tradition does not connect him with Glendalough, and St. Kevin's Life does not mention him; but St. Berach's Life attributes to him several of St. Kevin's miracles, such as the rescue of the king's son, Faelan, from the druidesses. St. Kevin was established in tradition as the patron saint by the time the Life of Berach was composed, and Berach is represented as being under his direction; but the "mighty works" are Berach's. The demons could not be cast out till he came, and "no power of demons, nor plague, nor punishment shall be there so long as Berach's bell shall be therein". He leaves "pre-eminence of learning and devotion" in Glendalough.

We would know nothing about this if St. Berach's Life had not preserved an account of it. One of St. Maedog's miracles is also attributed to him. There is no mention of British monks in his Life. He is principally a Connaught saint. His death is not mentioned in the Annals. Plummer suggests that he lived in the latter part of the 6th and the early 7th century.

Maedog, one of the saints who is particularly connected by tradition with Britain, died in 626. He may have had something to do with Glendalough. His Life tells of his promising aid to Brandubh, king of Leinster, before the battle of Dun Bolg, which took place in 598. There is a long saga about this battle, which was of course composed at a much later date, and in it he is called Aedain bishop of Glendalough.⁸⁶ It seems unsatisfactory to explain this merely as a mistake; the connection of Maedog with Ferns was well known, and Glendalough has nothing to do with the story. The saga contains a certain amount of old traditional material, and it may here have preserved a recollection of some connection between Maedog and Glendalough, of which we otherwise know nothing.

St. Moling, who died in 697, was also at Glendalough, but this must have been at a later period.

For Christians coming from Britain to south-eastern Ireland in the 6th century Glendalough was as favourably placed as, for example, Taghmon or Clonard. The lack of record of such a movement can hardly, I think, be taken as proving that men from Britain did not come there.

It may be as well to stress, what is of course obvious to anyone who reads these remarks, that the theory I have put forward is only surmise. That 'bullauns' were mortars, used for preparing food, is a conjecture based on general considerations, in the absence of historical facts. Even traditions about them come, with one or two exceptions, from recent times. I have

⁸⁶Ll. facs. 301 a 28.

therefore tried to bring together any miscellaneous bits of information which could have any bearing on the subject. These 'bullaun' stones are such curious objects, and notes about them not only at Glendalough but all over the country have been published so often, that to try even by guess-work to explain their nature and purpose may be legitimate.

Summary

A list is given of about 30 'bullaun' stones at Glendalough, and about 25 within a few miles of it on the former monastic lands. 'Bullaun' stones are found in all parts of Ireland, very often associated with old church sites.

Local traditions exist about many of them; the water in them is said to cure diseases, and the basins have been used for cursing by turning stones in them.

In most cases the basins have been artificially made, but natural basins are sometimes found, especially in limestone.

Stones with similar basins have been used in recent times in remote parts of Scotland for pounding barley and for crushing vegetables.

It has been suggested that the traditions connected with 'bullauns' indicate that they are of prehistoric origin, but this seems very doubtful; similar traditions exist about stones which are not 'bullauns'. Stories about their curative powers are probably due to the water in them.

They have been described as baptismal fonts, but they do not seem suitable for this purpose.

It has often been said that they were mortars. This seems to have more probability.

Stone mortars were used in post-Roman times in Britain for preparing food. Column-capitals fallen from Roman buildings have been used as mortars by having basins made in them.

Christians from post-Roman Britain are believed to have come to Irish monasteries in considerable numbers. They may have brought with them methods of preparing food which were not in use in Ireland.

'Bullauns' could have been used like mortars for crushing various foodstuffs as well as for grinding cereals. A new species of barley, which had to be ground or pounded to remove the grain from the husk, came into general use in post-Roman times. It could have been pounded in 'bullauns'; the stone basins in Scotland were used for this purpose.

It is suggested that the Irish 'bullauns' were mortars, and that the basins were made by people coming from Britain in early Christian times and were used for preparing food.

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and Mr. A. T. Lucas, both of whom have offered helpful suggestions and criticisms; to Mr. R. C. Barton, who showed me a number of the stones and gave me much local information about them; and to Dr. A. Farrington and Lt.-Col. R. Going for the photographs of the stones at Glassamucky and Housesteads. I have also to acknowledge permission kindly given to me to reproduce photographs by Messrs. T. H. Mason & Sons, Ltd., for Plate XI 2 (stones in St. Kevin's House), and by the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and Sir Mortimer Wheeler for Plate XIV 3 (Roman capital re-used as a mortar), which is reproduced from *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XXXIII (1923), 'Segontium and the Roman Occupation of Wales', Fig. 51, facing p. 129. I am obliged to Mr. C. Ó Cuileanáin for the illustration (Fig. 2) of the stone at Aghowle, Co. Wicklow.



A Linear B tablet from Knossos
(So 894 = Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents*, no. 278).
(By courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE MYCENAEAN SCRIPT

A NOTICE¹

By Donald M. Nicol

GREEK history in the factual sense may be said to begin in the eighth century. In 776 B.C. the first Olympic Games were held, and this event was taken to symbolise the beginnings of recorded history by the Classical Greeks; for it was traditionally about that time (though probably much earlier) that the Greek alphabet was invented—or rather adapted—from the Phoenician alphabet, from which ultimately all the great alphabets of Europe, the Greek, the Latin and the Slavonic, derive. Armed with a fluent and tractable means of expressing their thoughts the Greeks after the eighth century were able to record their history and achieve that special kind of self-consciousness as a people which such an ability imparts. But what of the Greeks before 776 B.C.? For no one supposed that the Hellenes (to give them their proper title) sprang out of the ground early in the eighth century. Concerning the ages before recorded history there were traditions, legends, even perhaps a few survivals in the way of customs or religious ritual, where the human mind is most conservative. There were particularly epic poems, describing in some detail a great war between the Greeks and the Trojans and its aftermath, telling of a great kingdom in Greece whose inhabitants were the ‘Achaeans’ and whose capital was Mycenae “rich in gold”, ruled by Agamemnon, and hinting darkly at a strange Empire or ‘thalassocracy’ centred in the island of Crete and with its capital at Knossos, where lived the Minotaur in his labyrinth. The legends of this lost ‘Heroic Age’ had been kept alive through the centuries by bards whose purpose was to sing of great deeds for the amusement and edification of the aristocracy: and like the Celtic bards these poets were gifted with prodigious memories, for they could write nothing down, being ignorant of the art of writing. The greatest and perhaps the last of these was Homer himself; and when the oral tradition of epic song died out, the two great poems of Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, were committed to writing. The account which Homer gives of the Heroic Age of his race (which is in fact the prehistoric age of Greece and the Aegean world) is not, of course, accurate history. It stands at the receiving end of a long line of oral tradition, and betrays all the anomalies and paradoxes which one would expect from such an account of a forgotten civilisation. The truth, in

¹Ventris & Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*; Cambridge Univ. Press, 1956. J. Chadwick, *The Decipherment of Linear B*; Cambridge, 1958

passing from mouth to mouth, becomes distorted, exaggerated and misrepresented. The Classical Greeks seldom thought to check or verify the stories of Homer, either by applying a sort of higher criticism, or by the archaeological method of searching for material evidence of the lost world of Mycenae.

Archaeology as a science for supplying or correcting the defects of history is a comparatively modern invention. Consequently, in later ages it was for long supposed that Homer's stories were nothing but myth, bearing either as much or as little relationship to the prehistory of Greece or Troy as the *Nibelungenlied* or *Grimms' Fairy Tales* to the history of Germany. The first man to question this unproved supposition was the nineteenth-century German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann. Schliemann was something of a poet, and he was so fired by his readings of Homer that he persuaded himself that the Homeric tradition must have a basis of fact, that if he dug below the soil at the site of Troy or Mycenae he would uncover mortal remains of the kingdom of Priam or Agamemnon. The scholarly world, which often takes itself very seriously, was profoundly sceptical of Schliemann's romantic notions, the more so since he was an amateur and not a professional scholar. Such scepticism, however, received a rude shock when Schliemann, using his Homer as a Baedeker, unearthed first the remains of a whole series of prehistoric cities at Troy in Asia Minor, and then in 1876 excavated the now famous grave circle at Mycenae in Greece. The evidence of civilisation and material wealth found at both of these sites (dating from many centuries before the Iron Age) opened up a whole new realm of prehistory and a whole new field of scholarship. It also gave the Homeric legends an entirely new significance. Homer had said that Mycenae was "rich in gold"; and in the royal shaft graves Schliemann found gold enough to convince anybody that in this particular Homer had not nodded. His excavations at the site of Tiryns nearby lent further weight to the factual basis, however remote and distorted, of the Homeric tradition.

The characteristics of the civilisation unearthed at Mycenae and Tiryns, however, were strangely un-Greek in appearance. Fragments of fresco-painting and of pottery in great quantities emerged which had no apparent connexion with the earliest-known Greek art of the Classical age, or indeed with any other art forms of the Mediterranean area. Further, the wealth of Mycenae, in gold and silver, bronze and precious stones, pre-supposed an extensive commerce with all the means of trade; for Mycenae itself lies, as Homer says, tucked away "in a fold of the horse-rearing plain of Argos". It has no ready access to gold or silver, or even to the copper and tin required to make bronze. An extensive commerce by land and sea made it seem likely that the Mycenaean must have had some knowledge of writing, if only for the purpose of keeping accounts and records of transactions: but of this Schliemann found no evidence. However, one of the scholars who had been impressed by Schliemann's excavations, an Englishman called Arthur (later Sir Arthur)

Evans, was inspired to pursue this line of inquiry. While pottering around in the antique shops of Athens, Evans came across a number of very ancient engraved gems or seal-stones, carved with symbols and figures, some of which appeared to be a form of writing or hieroglyphic characters, but of a type not known anywhere else in the Levant. He discovered that these came from the island of Crete, where peasant women, recognising the special magic of very ancient objects, were in the habit of wearing them round their necks as charms or 'milk-stones'. It was as a result of this discovery that Evans was led to begin his famous excavations in Crete—at Knossos, which according to Homer, and also to the more respectable historian Thucydides, had been the site of the royal palace (or labyrinth) of King Minos, and the capital of a flourishing empire and civilisation in the dim ages. What Evans was looking for was further evidence of a pre-Greek script or writing: and he was rewarded almost at once by the discovery of more engraved gems and also of clay tablets inscribed in a different form of script. But these finds soon became incidental to the major work of uncovering a whole conglomeration (almost literally a labyrinth) of buildings constituting a palace at Knossos. Here obviously was the residence of King Minos, or of the dynasty of Minos; and for want of a better name the civilisation of which it was the centre was called 'Minoan'. The archaeological evidence showed that this Minoan civilisation was a great deal older than that of Mycenae, although there were obvious connexions between the two, not least in styles of art and pottery. Evans's excavations at Knossos had therefore pushed back the beginnings of this prehistoric age of the Aegean to a much earlier date, and it was clear that the Minoan civilisation preceded that of Mycenae, but was connected with it, and latterly ran concurrently with it. Since, from the available evidence, it appeared that neither the Minoan nor the Mycenaean civilisation was related to that of Classical Greece, they were collectively termed 'pre-Hellenic': and the Cretans and Mycenaeans of the Bronze Age were labelled as non-Greeks and convicted of un-Greek activities.

After Evans's pioneer work at Knossos, excavations elsewhere in Crete opened up new centres of this Minoan civilisation, notably at Phaistos on the south coast of the island: and further Bronze Age or Mycenaean sites were explored on the Greek mainland. Finally some definite chronological order was established for the development of the Minoan-Mycenaean culture between the years 3000 and 1100 B.C. This period was divided into Early Bronze Age (2800-1900), Middle Bronze Age (1900-1600) and Late Bronze Age (1600-1100); and the divisions were referred to as Early Minoan, Middle Minoan and Late Minoan in Crete, and Early Helladic, Middle Helladic and Late Helladic (or Mycenaean) in Greece. The most flourishing period of Cretan civilisation began in the Middle Bronze Age (or Middle Minoan) and lasted until 1400 B.C., when the royal palace at Knossos, and with it the whole of Minoan civilisation, was abruptly and violently destroyed and brought to

an end by what can only be described as enemy action. The greatest period of Mycenaean culture, on the other hand, begins in the Late Bronze Age (or Late Mycenaean), outlives (and indeed benefits from) the destruction of Crete in 1400, and lasts at least until the twelfth century B.C., in the course of which it also is destroyed and disappears into obscurity, leaving only memories and the stuff that epic poems are made of.

The *end* of the Mycenaean kingdoms in Greece can be at least tentatively explained: for it was in the twelfth century B.C. and onwards that the Greek-speaking tribes known as the Dorians immigrated into Greece from the north. And it was the 'Dorian invasions' (known to later legend as the 'return of the Heraclidae') which gradually blotted out the Mycenaean civilisation. The Dorians ushered in the Iron Age of Greece, and introduced an era of dissolution and darkness over the whole Greek world similar to the Dark Age of Western Europe which followed the barbarian invasions of the fifth century A.D. It was that Dark Age of Greece which effectively cut off the Mycenaean from the Classical period of Greek history; and it was in that Dark Age that the memory of Mycenae and a forgotten Heroic period was preserved and handed down in epic song. But why, long before this, did Crete and its brilliant Minoan culture suddenly come to an end in 1400 B.C.? And what were the exact relationships and connexions (evidence of which is so clear) between Crete and Mycenae at that or at any stage? Evans believed that Mycenae was in the nature of a colony established on the Greek mainland by one of the rulers of Knossos—a colony which, after a long period of servitude, finally rebelled, organised an expedition and invaded Crete, destroying and dominating its mother-city. This might seem to substantiate the legends about the tribute of youths and maidens required from Athens by the brutal Minotaur, until the hero Theseus went and bearded the beast in its den and put an end to its tyranny. It would also explain the evident artistic and other affinities of Mycenae with Crete. But it leaves a lot unexplained as well. None of the legends, for example, connects *Mycenae* with Knossos—it is always Athens and Attica: nor is there any archaeological evidence for Mycenaean colonies or military garrisons established in Crete after 1400 B.C., although one might have expected the Mycenaeans to have controlled and occupied the island after they had subdued it. Minoan civilisation simply degenerates and rapidly declines, unheeded and undisturbed by the people across the water. Lastly, there are certain essential characteristics of the Mycenaean civilisation which are native to the soil and are in no way the product of Minoan influence, not least the architectural style of the Mycenaean palaces themselves, and the massive fortification walls which surround them—a feature conspicuously absent from the royal palaces of Crete.

Were the Mycenaeans and the Minoans then of the same race and language? Evans (and others, until quite recently) believed that they were, at least to the extent that neither was Greek. Both were non-Hellenic or pre-Hellenic people, speaking and writing a non-Greek

language. On the other hand, there must have been a form of Greek spoken, if not written, long before the time of Homer; for Homeric Greek is a highly-developed literary language which must have a long history behind it: and philologists had come to certain conclusions as to what a more primitive form of the Greek language ought to look like. It is true that the legends of Theseus and the Minotaur and of the Trojan War made no linguistic distinctions between Greeks and Cretans or between Greeks and Trojans: Theseus and Ariadne, Hector and Achilles were apparently able to converse in the same language, or at any rate without an interpreter. But legends are notoriously fallible on the point of language. No one is surprised that Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, should be fluent in Elizabethan English. However, the accumulation of archaeological material on the Greek mainland seemed to suggest that Greece had in fact been populated by a new race of invaders from the north about 1900 B.C., and that Agamemnon's Mycenaeans were probably their descendants. For their own amusement and for convenience scholars labelled these invaders 'Achaean', which is what Homer calls the Mycenaean Greeks. And it appeared that it was the Achaeans who smarted under the colonial rule of the Minoans, until they proclaimed their independence and destroyed their masters in 1400 B.C. Few people, however, before 1952 had seriously proposed that these 'archaeological Achaeans' or Mycenaeans might really be Greeks, speaking and writing Greek, and the direct ancestors of the Classical Greeks.

Sir Arthur Evans had been led to begin his excavations at Knossos by the hope of discovering further examples of the kind of pictorial script which he had recognised on Cretan gems and seals. In the course of those excavations he unearthed a great quantity of specimens of Minoan writing of various kinds, some of the purely hieroglyphic type, but even more written in a *linear* form of script. These he was able to classify into four categories, which he described as Hieroglyphic Class A and B and Linear Class A and B, running more or less chronologically from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age down to 1400 B.C. So far as Evans (and most subsequent authorities) were concerned, these curious forms of writing were designed to express an unknown 'Minoan language'. The earliest of them was based on a system of pictorial symbols or hieroglyphs—an intricate and specialised form of script, knowledge of which was probably confined to a few scribes and officials; and it was from these hieroglyphs that the two linear scripts developed, the first (Linear A) common to all Crete, the second (Linear B) confined apparently to Knossos. The origins of the Hieroglyphic script remain obscure. Some, but by no means all of its characters may well be related to similar Egyptian hieroglyphs; but most of them appear to have been invented by the Cretans themselves to express their ideas or their own language. The script seems to read from left to right, and in the course of time it became more and more diagrammatic, losing its strictly pictorial aspect. In its earliest form (Class A) it dates from the 19th century B.C., and is known only from

seal stones and their impressions in clay. Class B dates from the 18th century and is found not only on seal stones but also on little oblong tablets of baked clay. In its full development this second form of the Hieroglyphic script was tending towards an increasingly abstract style: diagrammatic forms of what had originally been pictures were turning into representations of letters or more probably syllables.

What is called the 'First Palace Period' at Knossos came to an end about 1700 B.C., as the result of a disastrous earthquake; and it is from the immediately succeeding period that the first *linear* script makes its appearance. The basic materials were borrowed from the old script; but the symbols were now no longer ideographic (except for certain items). The pictorial signs were conventionalised and reduced to mere outlines. A selection of signs was made from the two Classes of Hieroglyphic writing, and this may point to the fact that the new linear script was evolved and enforced as the result of an official directive or royal command from Knossos. The first form of this new and more developed script is known as Linear A. Evans distinguished some 90 different signs—considerably fewer than in the Hieroglyphic script, which he estimated to contain 135 characters. This made it likely that the linear script should be syllabic rather than alphabetic, although the emancipation from purely pictorial signs was not complete. Linear A continued in use at Knossos until the early 15th century B.C., and in the rest of the island until the end of the Minoan civilisation. It has not (as yet) been found outside Crete, and so it has been taken to be a specifically 'Minoan' signary. Once again it derives mostly from inscriptions on tablets of clay, although there are some examples of Linear A also on pottery and stone or bronze objects. The Linear A tablets appear to be official records, accounts, or palace inventories, but their exact content and their language remain a mystery. Lastly, at some date about 1450 B.C. Linear A was replaced at Knossos (and so far as is known at present at Knossos only) by a more complex form of script, which Evans named Linear B. Over 3000 tablets and fragments of tablets bearing inscriptions in Linear B (that is by far the greatest number of clay tablets) have been found in the Palace area at Knossos since 1900. It is significant that they have not been found at Phaistos or at any of the other Minoan sites in Crete: for Linear B is more than a mere development or modification of Linear A, although based on it to a great extent. There are many innovations and different characters. This prompted Evans to suggest that Linear B was "a 'royal' orthography, developed by the Palace scribes and therefore employed exclusively at Knossos". Nearly all the Linear B tablets from Knossos date from the period immediately preceding the violent destruction of the Palace in 1400 B.C., and indeed it is to that event that they owe their preservation; for these were the ones baked hard by the action of the fire that put an end to Knossos at that date.

It could be assumed from the appearance of these tablets and the writing on them that they were (like those of Linear A) records of supplies

and commodities, inventories and accounts. For a large number of pictorial signs and ideograms continued to be used for obviously recognisable things, such as chariots, horses, cattle, vases of different shapes, wheels etc., and there was a clear distinction between the ideograms for men and women. The undecipherable signs accompanying these ideograms appeared to describe them: the 'descriptions' read from left to right, the words being often separated by upright strokes, and were invariably written along horizontal lines cut in the clay to keep them straight, as in a copy book. There were separate signs for numerals qualifying the descriptions; and these were easy enough to interpret, being written in units, tens, hundreds and thousands. Evans was able to sort out at least 70 different linear characters, and tentatively concluded that they had a syllabic rather than an alphabetic value. So much was known about Linear B before 1939. It was a peculiar form of probably syllabic script, used, apparently for purposes of accounting in the Palace at Knossos just before its fall: it had been found nowhere else, and it was taken for granted that its language must be some special variant of the unknown 'Minoan' language. Many people made attempts to decipher it, based on the assumption that it might have some affinity with one of the other odd languages of Europe—Basque, Etruscan, even Albanian—or of course with Greek: but the most important work was done by a few who approached the problem without any preconceived notions of what the language might be, by re-arranging the symbols and groups of symbols to arrive at some conclusions about their structure with regard to initial signs, word-endings, genders, inflexions, or conjunctions.

1939 was a turning-point for the study of this subject. In that year Professor Carl Blegen of America, who had already spent many years working on the site of Troy, decided, like Schliemann, to take Homer as his text and search for the home of the aged and garrulous Nestor, who (according to Homer) lived at "sandy Pylos" on the west coast of Greece. Blegen located a likely site near the modern Pylos on the Bay of Navarino and began to dig. His first trench ran straight into a horde of clay tablets, which when cleaned were seen to be inscribed in what had hitherto been called the *Minoan* Linear B script, and which was thought to be peculiar to Knossos. Altogether 600 tablets were unearthed at Pylos—the first to be found in Greece, or indeed anywhere except Knossos. The war interrupted further excavations at the Palace of Nestor and also further study of this new aspect of the problem of Linear B. But the work was resumed in 1952. The first 'edition' of the Pylos tablets (by Professor Emmett Bennett) appeared in 1951, and more have since been found at this site. In 1952 the late Professor Wace of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, continuing his excavations at Mycenae itself, came upon 39 tablets inscribed in the identical Linear B script of Knossos and Pylos (these incidentally were the first to be found outside the precincts of a royal palace—they were found in what Wace believed to be a private house beyond the walls—which may indicate that the

knowledge of writing was not confined to royal scribes and officials). 11 more have since been found at Mycenae. The Pylos and Mycenae tablets, like those from Knossos, date from the period immediately preceding the destruction of the building or site in which they were located. They survived because the clay of which they are made was hardened by the action of fire. The Pylos tablets can thus be dated to about 1200 B.C. or just after—the date of the destruction of the Pylos palace by invaders. The script (Linear B) is virtually identical with that from the last period of the palace at Knossos. It is therefore possible to conclude, without prejudice, that Linear B was the form of script employed at Knossos from about 1450 to 1400 B.C., and that after 1400 it remained the exclusive script of the Greek mainland until the destruction of the Mycenaean civilisation by the Dorian invasions in the 12th century and after.

With the discovery of Linear B tablets at Pylos, on Greek soil, the problem of their decipherment became even more urgent and intriguing—and also to some extent more possible of solution, since the more one has of an unknown script the more one can shuffle the signs and characters about and explore the structure of the language. Much fundamental work was in fact done, particularly by American scholars, on the arrangement and classification of the signs as a result of the new material; but it remained very unlikely that the language could be Greek, even though it had been used on the Greek mainland. Then in 1952 a young English architect called Michael Ventris claimed to have arrived at a tentative decipherment, and to have established that the language which emerged from his reading of the Linear B script was in fact a primitive form of *Greek*, written in syllabic form. Ventris had been privately pursuing his studies in this problem for many years. He first became interested in it when as a schoolboy he went to hear a lecture by Sir Arthur Evans. He was not a classical scholar or a philologist, but he had a remarkable aptitude for languages. I speak of him in the past tense because he was killed in a road accident near London in 1956 at the age of thirty-four. He was a modest, open-minded and above all sincere and conscientious person; he was not in the least likely to take chances in a matter of scholarship for reasons of personal prestige, or to bully the evidence into fitting a preconceived idea. In fact Ventris made many false starts on the decipherment of Linear B. He thought for a long time, for example, that the language should have some connexion with Etruscan. But when at last he felt that he was on the right track he did not keep the secret to himself, but at his own expense privately circulated what he called his "Work Notes", reporting progress and inviting criticism, to all scholars who were engaged on the same problem. Like most of them Ventris never expected that the language of Linear B would emerge as Greek. Latterly, when it appeared that Greek was in fact inevitably emerging, he made contact with a trained Greek philologist, John Chadwick of Cambridge: and the first official publication of what was modestly called

'Evidence for Greek Dialect in the Mycenaean Archives' was printed under the names of Ventris and Chadwick in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1953. The full-scale publication of their work on the available material, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, appeared from the Cambridge University Press in 1956, just after Ventris had been killed: and a succinct and slightly popularised version of the subject has recently been published by John Chadwick.

Having surprised himself by producing Greek words out of the mysterious symbols of Linear B, Ventris had to examine the already known archaeological evidence to see if such a thing were possible. Evans had believed that the Mycenaean settlements in Greece were the result of Minoan colonisation. Unfortunately it is not known what his reactions were to the first discovery of Linear B tablets at Pylos in 1939: he was then eighty-eight and died shortly afterwards. But it is probable that he would have clung to his original theory, that Linear B was an "administrative revision" of Linear A, designed to express the same "Aegean language", and that it was transported from Knossos to Pylos by Minoan colonists. Some other authorities, however, had already begun to suspect that Linear B contained a new and distinct language—a language which was native to the Greek mainland rather than to Knossos. The fact that a common and almost identical script was employed at Knossos (from about 1450—1400 B.C.) and thereafter at Pylos and Mycenae seemed to support this view. This would demand a complete reversal of the theories hitherto put forward concerning the relationship between Crete and Mycenae: it would be necessary to suppose either that by 1400 the Greek mainland had already usurped the place of Crete in the leadership of the Aegean world, making it necessary that 'Greek' should be the common language of commerce, or that a Greek aristocracy or dynasty had established itself in Knossos and conducted its affairs in its own language some time before 1400 B.C. There was plenty of evidence from the excavations for the rise of Mycenae at the expense of Knossos and Crete in the 15th century B.C.; so that this hypothesis might not be so revolutionary after all. And Professor Wace had already suggested, on the strength of the archaeological evidence alone and before the decipherment, that the last Palace at Knossos was the seat of an Achaeon or Mycenaean prince; in which case its final destruction might be attributed to a Minoan rebellion against the rule of a foreign dynasty. There was therefore independent evidence which seemed to indicate that Linear B (being radically different from Linear A in many respects) "was designed for a language that originated on the Greek Mainland, which continued to be spoken there down to the end of the Mycenaean age", and which was therefore more typically *Mycenaean* than Minoan. And from that it followed that the script might very well represent an early form of Greek.

It is important to remember, however, that Ventris did not allow these hypothetical considerations to influence him with regard to the decipherment of Linear B. The odds against the language being Greek

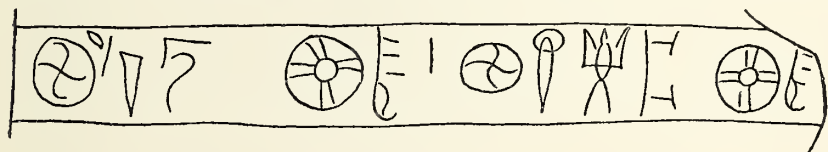
were still very heavy. The method of decipherment had therefore to start from scratch, and to proceed so far as possible from the known to the unknown. There was no bilingual text or Rosetta stone to serve as a key, so that any unprejudiced decipherment had to begin with a careful analysis of the clues presented by the available material—by observation and deduction from the appearance of the clay tablets and the script—before making any assumptions or comparisons with any other known language. This analysis was based on the following points, which could safely be deduced from observation: (1) the tablets are inventories, accounts, or receipts. (2) Commodities listed are represented by *ideograms* or shorthand pictures, introduced by names, words or sentences written *phonetically*. (3) The identity of many of these commodities can be easily recognised from the ideogram representing them, and so there is some clue to the words written before them. (4) About 88 different phonetic signs could be distinguished, and the shapes of these are almost identical in the tablets from Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae. (5) This number of signs clearly indicates a *syllabary* and not an alphabet. (A syllabary of ancient origin was still in use in Cyprus to express the Greek language in Classical times, and the two are possibly related). (6) By the process of statistical counting certain average conclusions can be reached about the positioning and frequency of different signs. (7) From word-endings some conclusions can be made concerning the grammatical structure and inflexion of words. Thus it can be shown that all the tablets (from Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae) are of the same language. (8) By analysis it was possible to divide the phonetic signs into four categories of a very general nature—place-names, men's and women's names, names of trades associated with men and women and their professions, and general vocabulary describing commodities and their adjuncts or circumstances.²

On the basis of these deductions Ventris set about the construction of what he called a Syllabic Grid—a table showing all the signs representing word endings and other syllabic combinations of vowel and consonant which might be supposed from their context or their association with a particular ideogram to indicate the masculine or the feminine gender. When all these known syllabic elements had been reduced to some kind of order on the grid, it would then (as he wrote himself in September 1951) “only need the identification of a small number of syllabic values for the more or less complete system of consonants and vowels to fall into place . . . (and) it is conceivable that some happy accident or intuition might lead to such a solution at any time now”. The fact that he was still expecting to arrive not at Greek but at some unknown pre-Greek language, to which Etruscan might be the only clue, delayed the occurrence of that “happy accident” for several months more. But in the end, after much trial and error, when Greek values were

²This account of the analysis of the texts is based on Ventris and Chadwick, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* LXXIII (1953), pp. 85-6.

applied to a number of the syllabic signs on the Grid and thence to the words on the tablets themselves it was found that recognisably Greek words could be read.

Thus the language of Linear B was more or less established as Greek, written in a simple form of syllabic script, based on the five vowels and some twelve consonants combined with each vowel, and using at least 88 different signs, of which some 70 or more are now transliterated. But difficulties still remain. It is clear that this script was not designed for writing Greek. It was in origin an adaptation of the Linear A of Crete (which almost certainly expressed a non-Greek language) to express the language of the Greek mainland. The Linear A script had to be modified and supplemented for this purpose; and the adaptation was not wholly successful. (Only about a half of the signs of Linear A reappear in Linear B). Consequently, many sounds which are quite clear in the Greek alphabet are confused in this Mycenaean



KA- KI- JO (WHEEL) ZE- 1 KA- KO- DE- TA (WHEEL) ZE- [3]

χα(λ)κιω ζε(υγος)1 χα(λ)κοδετα ζε(υγη) [3]

Transcription of line 2 of Tablet So 894 (see Plate XV): "one pair of bronze wheels; [three] pairs of bronze-bound wheels".

syllabary: and some signs had to be pressed into service to represent many though similar syllables. For example, the signs indicating the syllables *pa-* and *te-* can be construed either as *pa-ter* or as *pan-tes*: and in such cases the interpretation depends entirely on the context. Further, being simply business records or archives, the tablets are written in a very abbreviated style, in note form, with the minimum of grammar and syntax. Nevertheless, the language that emerges from Ventris's decipherment is a rudimentary and simplified form of Greek. It is a kind of Greek at least 500 years older than Homer, a form of the language separated from Classical Greek by the Dark Age. On the whole its dialect is most akin to the dialect still spoken and written in Classical times in those parts of Greece which escaped the Dorian invasion—Arcadia and Cyprus. The language of Cyprus continued for a long time to be written in a syllabic script and the 'Cypriot syllabary' was deciphered in the 1870's by means of bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Cypriot writing: and the 'Arcado-Cyprian' dialect of Greek has for long been associated by

philologists with a supposed archaic pre-Dorian or 'Achaean' Greek dialect. This now seems proved. The 'Achaean' dialect is this archaic Mycenaean language.

A major problem raised by this discovery is that of the relationship of this language to the Greek of Homer. Homer uses many words and word-forms that do not reappear in later Greek, partly because he was drawing on a great stock of poetic material handed down by *oral* tradition from the Heroic Age—from the time when 'Achaean' was the spoken language of Greece, the dialect spoken not only by Agamemnon or Nestor, but also by the bards like Demodocus who sang for them. It is therefore significant that the Linear B tablets show a great number of word-forms and inflexions which are peculiar to Homer, and do not appear in later Greek. There is still, of course, no reason for supposing that the Homeric poems were ever written down in the Heroic or Mycenaean age. The Mycenaean syllabary is a clumsy sort of writing at best, and hardly suitable for the transcription of poetry. Poetry, like history, needs an alphabet rather than a syllabic script for its expression. Indeed, it may well be that no other form of literary document will ever come to light from Crete and Mycenaean Greece except these tablets containing inventories, records and accounts. The uses of literacy may have been strictly limited among the earliest Greeks for the purely utilitarian purposes of commerce, accountancy and administration. That this was so at Knossos before the introduction of Linear B seems certain: and it seems likely that Linear B was developed out of Linear A at Knossos because it was there that the ruling dynasty of Greeks first perceived the usefulness of literacy. Having done so, however, they were forced to modify and adapt the signs of Linear A into those of Linear B to conform to the requirements of a different language, namely Greek. They found Linear A quite inadequate for the expression of Greek; and in the interest of more efficient trade, administration and taxation they enlisted Cretan help in creating Linear B.³ A parallel to this kind of script specially created for a specific purpose is provided by the 'Cyrillic script', which is the basis of the Slavonic alphabet and literature. The 'Cyrillic script' was invented in the 9th century A.D. by the Greek monk Cyril for the purpose of translating the Bible and the Liturgy into the Slav languages. The alphabet still used (with some modifications) by all the Slavonic peoples was thus an adaptation of the Greek minuscule alphabet and script to suit the needs of another language—a process which necessitated also the invention of certain new letters to express sounds in the Slav language which do not occur in the Greek language. Thus *mutatis mutandis* the Cyrillic script of the Old Slavonic liturgy may be said to bear a relationship to the Byzantine Greek alphabet similar to the relationship apparently existing between Minoan Linear A and Mycenaean Linear B. In both cases the later script was evolved out of

³Sterling Dow, 'Minoan Writing', *American Journal of Archaeology* LVIII (1954), p. 128.

the earlier specifically to cope with the expression of an entirely different language.

Thus, although much remains conjectural and problematical, we are in a fair way to understanding the language of the Mycenaean Greeks between about 1450 and 1100 B.C. Before his death Ventris had contrived to transliterate some 250 words of Greek or non-Greek out of the Linear B tablets. Some it is true have to be coaxed into becoming something like Greek, and some refuse even to be bullied. But it is very probable that Mycenaean Greek should contain a fair admixture of non-Greek or obsolete words or forms. It is disappointing that no historical records seem likely to come to light; but even from inventories and accounts a good deal of information can be derived concerning Mycenaean life, and some but by no means all of it substantiates the Homeric version. However, at both Knossos and Pylos the existence of a monarchy is confirmed. The head of affairs is referred to as the *wanax* or king (although the word *basileus* so common in Homer is so far strangely lacking), and another official is called the *lawagetas* or 'leader of the people', which may be an echo of Homer's title for Agamemnon, 'shepherd of the people'. A great variety of names of trades and professions indicates a wide division of labour. The king and his government were supported by an elaborate system of taxation, and many of the tablets are taxation returns. The tribute is assessed in kind and not in currency, in terms of sheep, grain, honey and other goods. Religion seems to have been administered by priests (*hieroworgoi*) and priestesses; and certain people are referred to as 'slaves of the god or the priestess'. These are distinct from ordinary slaves (whose existence is also confirmed), and may have occupied a special position in society. The place names occurring on the tablets give a fair indication of the extent of the kingdoms centred around Knossos and Pylos, though not all of them can be certainly indentified: and the personal names are of particular interest. Familiar Greek names such as Eteocles, Glaucus, Pyrrhus, Theseus and Xanthus are well represented: Achilles also appears as a name both at Pylos and at Knossos, in which case it must have been in use at least 200 years before the Trojan War. More remarkable still is the use of the name Hector, who occurs as one of the 'slaves of the god' at Pylos, which seems to show that there were Greek as well as Trojan Hectors.

One of the most confusing of all the results of the decipherment is its effect on the theories put forward about the origins of Greek religion, and its connexions with the Mycenaean or pre-Dorian religion. Many of the tablets record offerings to deities and their shrines. It has often been supposed (mainly on the visible evidence of Minoan civilisation) that the Olympian gods and goddesses were introduced into Greece from the northern world during the Dark Ages following the collapse of Mycenae, and that Zeus, Hera, Athena and the rest superseded or accommodated themselves to the chthonian or earthy deities which had ruled men's hearts during the Minoan and Mycenaean Bronze Age. But it now appears

that many of these Olympian gods and goddesses were already at home in the Mycenaean age in Greece. One tablet records the names of four of them—Athena, Enyalios (Ares), Paian (Apollo) and Poseidon. Athena has the title *potnia* familiar from Homer; and on other tablets the epithet *potnia* occurs alone, apparently as the name of a goddess. A tablet from Knossos mentions Eileithyia (the goddess of child-birth) in connexion with Amnisos, the port of Knossos, where Homer says that she had a well-known shrine: and there are several references to offerings made “to all the gods”. From the Pylos tablets come the names of Zeus, Hera, Hermes, and (most bewildering of all) Dionysus, the god who is always supposed to have been a late arrival even into the Classical Greek pantheon.

Extravagant and hasty conclusions ought not to be drawn perhaps from the evidence of personal names alone. A great deal of work remains to be done, and there are many questions still unanswered. (It seems odd, for instance, that a script which was in use for close on 300 years to express the same language should not have evolved in some way, or have undergone any improvements to meet its patent inadequacies for the expression of Greek). But I do not think that anyone can now reasonably doubt that a dialect of *Greek* has emerged from Michael Ventris’s skilful decipherment of the Linear B tablets. There is still much conjecture, and perhaps too much guesswork in the process of decipherment; and Ventris himself was perhaps readier than his followers to admit the limitations of his method and to confess his mistakes. But at least a strong beginning has been made. The application of the new material to a reinterpretation of the Homeric problems (a pastime in which some are already indulging) ought perhaps to wait until a more complete decipherment has been achieved; and a more complete decipherment depends to a very large extent on the discovery of still more tablets, so that comparisons can be made and existing conclusions confirmed or invalidated.

In conclusion, having said so much in favour of the decipherment of Linear B, it is only fair to add that, while it is accepted (sometimes perhaps rather too uncritically) by the great majority of qualified scholars, attacks have been made on it. The principal opponents have been Professor Beattie of Edinburgh and Professor Grumach of Berlin. It would be a long and painful task to state the main points of their objections to Ventris’s decipherment. Suffice it to say that Professor Beattie, who rose to the attack in 1956, bases his doubts on the enormous number of possible variant readings available when the Ventris method is applied to the texts, and on the grounds that a system of writing which depends for its interpretation so much on the determinations of the context is far too flexible to be of any practical use: and conversely, “just because it is so imprecise, it enables Mr. Ventris to discern Greek words in groups of syllables that look entirely un-Greek to the classical scholar”. He therefore detects some degree of fundamental error in the method by

which Ventris embarked on his decipherment in the first place. If it can be proved that there is an error there, then it follows that there will be a mounting accumulation of errors all along the line.⁴ Professor Grumach's attack is on a far wider front—archaeological and historical as well as purely linguistic. But in fact his objections on historical grounds appear to be no less hypothetical than those which might be to some extent substantiated by accepting the Mycenaean script as Greek. From the philological point of view Grumach appears to take his stand on a theory regarding the nature of Linear B symbols which had in any case been long out of favour. Quite a number of those symbols still show as it were the pictorial vestiges of the ideograms from which they were originally developed. Thus the sign which Ventris deciphered as the vowel *a-* bears an unmistakable resemblance to the figure of a double-headed axe: that which has become the vowel *o-* is suspiciously like a drawing reduced to its simplest form of a throne-and-sceptre, and so on. These symbols must have had a very special, possibly a religious, connotation for the Minoan and Mycenaean people: hence it is very strange that they should have degenerated into becoming mere vowels and syllables. Further, the double-axe sign appears (both in Linear A and in Linear B very frequently at the *beginning* of groups of signs; and this fact "can only be explained on the assumption that it has an ideographic or determinative function. . . . It must indeed be a very strange chance if the 'double-axe' sign should owe its frequency as a 'beginning-sign' to its ideographic significance in Linear A, while in Linear B on the contrary it owes it to the relative frequency of a Greek initial letter, which (according to Ventris's sign values), corresponds with unfailing regularity to the phonetic value of *a-* as in *Athana* etc. It is extremely unlikely that such recurrent sign-combinations as throne-with-king, double-axe-with-king, double-axe-with-house etc. should arise from the chance bringing together of phonetic signs (in another language)". According to Grumach then a great number of the signs of Linear B as of Linear A are not vowels or syllables at all but retain the religious or hieroglyphic nature which their appearance would seem to imply.⁵

These objections are powerful, but by no means conclusive. Professor Beattie, though aspiring to detect a high degree of error in the method of decipherment, does not appear to discover it. Professor Grumach's linguistic objections would appear to lead us off down a cul-de-sac, away from the main road to any possible decipherment. In any case it is not "strange" that the symbol of a 'double-axe', when taken over as the vowel *a-* by the Mycenaean Greeks for their Linear B syllabary, should appear very frequently at the beginning of words, since

⁴A. J. Beattie, 'Mr. Ventris' Decipherment of the Minoan Linear B Script', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* LXXVI (1956), pp. 1-17.

⁵E. Grumach, 'Bemerkungen zu M. Ventris—J. Chadwick: Evidence for Greek Dialect in the Mycenaean Archives', *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* LII, 7-8 (July-August, 1957), pp. 293-342.

a great many words do in fact begin with *a*-.⁶ Finally, neither of the principal enemies of the decipherment can satisfactorily explain how it is possible, even on the supposition of an enormous number of coincidences and happy chances, that so much readily recognisable Greek can in fact be produced by using the Ventris method on the texts of the Linear B tablets. As Professor T. B. L. Webster wrote, in answer to the barrage of Beattie: "What is the mathematical probability that a decipherment should be wrong when it provides intelligible and grammatical Greek on 3,500 tablets for such different subjects as lists of workers, operational orders, livestock, spices, land ownership, religious offerings, textiles, furniture and weapons?"⁷

The last word for the moment may rest with Dr. N. Platon, the Greek Director of the Iraklion Museum in Crete, whose learned review of the Ventris-Chadwick book recently appeared.⁸ Dr. Platon, who began by doubting and rejecting the whole decipherment, is now convinced that it is basically correct. After a severe and detailed criticism of the deficiencies (not always acknowledged) in the decipherment, he concludes by saying: "These comments are not to be taken as implying that the reviewer is not convinced that the phonetic values of the syllables have been correctly restored, or that the texts are in the Greek language. They are intended merely to underline the problematic nature of the sense and significance of many of the texts and to recommend a scholarly caution in putting forward more general conclusions, especially such as conflict with other, plainer evidence based on archaeological findings".

The chief importance then of the objections which have been made may lie in the fact that, by starting possible hares and invoking serious criticism which demands to be answered, they have introduced a salutary element of caution into the process of dealing with the Linear B texts. They have picked holes in the decipherment, but fundamentally the structure remains sound; and by repairing those holes the specialists may be enabled to add to its strength by arriving at some more confident conclusions and some more definite observations. It is of course tragic that Michael Ventris himself has not been spared to take up the challenge offered by his critics. But I think it is safe to say that his work has pushed back the history of the common ancestors of our civilisation, the Greeks, several centuries, and supplied the Greek language with a continuous history of over 3000 years—a life-span rivalled by only one other of the world's languages.

⁶Professor W. B. Stanford has kindly suggested to me, in this connexion, that the signs *aleph* (= an ox) and *beth* (= a house) might frequently occur together as ideograms in a community of cattle-tenders; while *aleph* as a letter and *beth* as another letter would frequently occur together as *a*- and *b*- in Hebrew or Phoenician.

⁷*Sunday Times*, 27 January, 1957.

⁸*Journal of Hellenic Studies* LXXVIII (1958), pp. 140-143.

MISCELLANEA

SOME UNPUBLISHED ANTIQUITIES OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD IN DUBLIN AREA

The accompanying illustrations of some antiquities not previously published, may help to draw attention to these interesting monuments.

The finial (No. 1) which lies in the graveyard at Saggart was found by Mr. Patrick Birmingham in August 1956, when excavating for a foundation on which to erect a tombstone. The spot was about five yards from the south west wall of the graveyard, and is now marked by a memorial belonging to the Lennon family. According to Mr. Birmingham it was about two feet below the surface, embedded in clay and not accompanied by stones or masonry.

The finial is of granite the overall width being two feet and the height one foot eight inches. The lower part is roughly shaped into a blunt point, in the back slope of which is cut a seating three inches deep and five-and-a-half inches wide. The front, sides, and ends of the arms are covered with an irregular pattern of chisel marks. The back and the tapered base are only hammer dressed, although chisel marks appear also on the back slope of the base, indicating that this was part of the original design.

This finial differs considerably from previously published examples,¹ in that the two arms are of rectangular cross-sections and terminate in a vertical face, a form which illustrates very clearly the conversion into stone of the crossed ends of the gable rafters.² This simpler form would be typologically earlier than the fully developed finial with rounded wings and embellished with carved decoration, and may well date from the time of the foundation of the monastery by St. Mo-Sacra in the seventh century.

The Rathmichael cross fragment (No. 2) was found in 1954 during renovations by the Board of Works. It is one foot four inches high, and is also of granite. In its present mutilated condition it is not possible to attempt a conjectural restoration, but it would appear from the short portion of dressed work on one edge that it was originally a free-standing cross, and not a double sided slab as might otherwise be presumed. Each side bears a cross-in-circle in false relief. On one side it was apparently surrounded by an incised circle, above which is the lower portion of another circle of about the same diameter. Below the cross on the same side is a sunk band, and at the upper and lower terminals of the cross are small semi-circular loops. On the other side there is a similar loop at the upper terminal only.

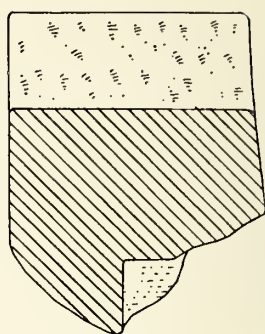
1. JRSAL, Vol. XLIV (1914), p. 171-172: *Finial Stones*, by Henry S. Crawford.

2. Harold G. Leask. *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*. Vol. I, p. 46-47.

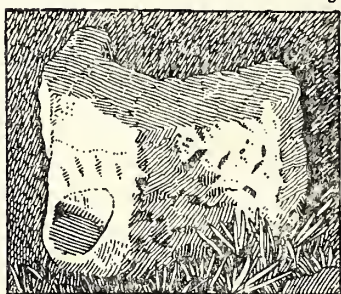
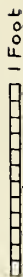
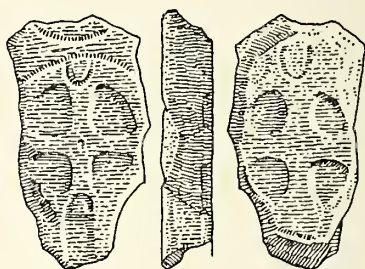
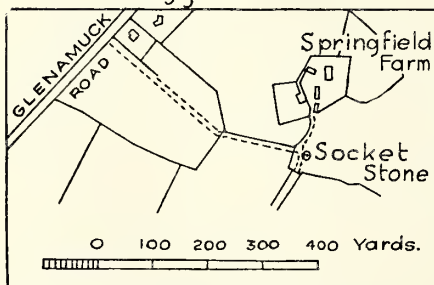
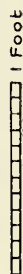


Front Elevation

1. Saggart Finial

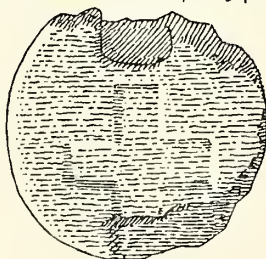
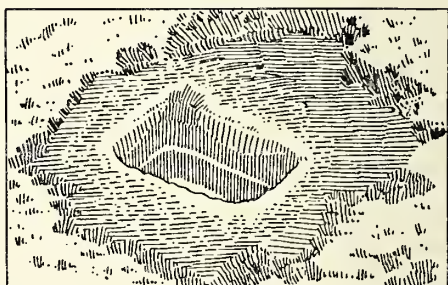


Section

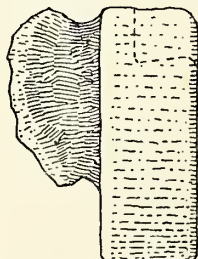
View of Underside
Saggart Finial2. Cross Fragment
Rathmichael

3. Socket Stone Carrickmines

Map based on 6" O.S. Map by permission of the Minister for Finance



Front Elevation



Side View

4. Cross inscribed Stone Kill of the Grange



The socket stone at Carrickmines Great (No. 3) is on the lands of Springfield Farm, the property of Mr. Greaves. The socket is one foot one-and-a-half inches by seven-and-a-half inches and is an average of nine-and-a-half-inches deep. It is cut in a flattish granite boulder, the surface of which is level with the ground. The exposed portion, which is about three feet across, does not bear any other mark.

This stone was located through a reference in Vol. 799 (P. 70) of the schools survey, organised by the Irish Folklore Commission in 1937. According to this report there was a tradition that the cross which once stood here is now buried somewhere in the vicinity. The old track beside the stone was known as "the old packhorse road", and mails used to be brought that way to Wicklow.

The position of the stone is marked on the accompanying map and is exactly one mile distant from the ancient site of Tully on the east and the same distance from the Jamestown site on the west.

That this was, in fact, a cross base, there cannot be much doubt, as the normal method for securing such monuments in this part of the country, was to fit them into a mortice cut in an undressed boulder or slab. At Whitechurch, where a similar vacant socket occurs, there is an incised cross of early type cut beside the hole.

The cross-inscribed stone at Kill of the Grange (No. 4) is also of granite. It consists of a flat circular portion six inches thick, one edge of which has been broken away. On the face of this is a slightly sunken Greek cross, and above the cross an open socket four-and-a-half inches wide and four inches deep. On the back of the circular portion is a rough bulbous lump nine-and-a-half inches long, ten-and-a-half inches wide and protruding five-and-a-half inches. This part seems to have been intended to be built in out of sight, and, presumably, in this position, and with the socket to the top, the stone could be used as a corbel. The cross can be compared with that cut on the underside of the lintel of Killiney Church.

P. Ó hÉailidhe.

BOOK REVIEWS

CAROLAN: THE LIFE, TIMES AND MUSIC OF AN IRISH HARPER. By Donal O'Sullivan. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958. 2 vols. 84/-.

Dr. O'Sullivan's great work, in two massive volumes, is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the life and times of Carolan. A masterly chapter on the historical and social background of the period is followed by a critical review of the authorities for Carolan's life.

Two further chapters treat of Carolan's boyhood and career and the remaining 25 chapters, apart from one on his last days, death and burial, are concerned with various subsidiary associations and aspects of his life: how he stood with his patrons, especially with the MacDermot Roe family and the O'Conors of Belanagare; his romantic attachment to Bridget Cruise; his dealings with Dean Swift, Charles MacCabe, Séamus Dall MacCuarta and other contemporary poets. There is one especially pleasant and illuminating chapter on the anecdotes related of Carolan and the occasional verses attributed to him, exemplifying, as Dr. O'Sullivan writes, "his love of drink and good cheer, his irascibility, his common sense and his delight in the ludicrous".

In the second part of the work we are presented with the music of Carolan, 212 tunes in all. Here, as it were, the harper himself, with harp new-strung, takes over gratefully from his wearied biographer; he takes the floor and without gloss or comment comes really alive, as he came alive on that memorable evening last November in the Society's House at the lecture-recital on his music by Dr. O'Sullivan, with Miss Kennedy, soprano, and Miss Larchet, harpist. Those who were present that evening will, to a large extent, have savoured the essence of Dr. O'Sullivan's two volumes, and will have received the impetus and stimulation to carry them through the smaller print of the third and most difficult part of the work: The Notes to the Tunes.

Here the author's amazing erudition has full play, especially in family history. A large portion of Carolan's songs and tunes were composed for patrons and were accepted by them, Protestant as well as Catholic, as a kind of accolade and mark of signal honour. Dr. O'Sullivan explores the history of these patrons and their families. He presents the sad picture of the gradual decline of families like the MacDonaghs and O'Rourkes from the status of chieftain to that of tenant farmer. And in this respect, for the light it throws on Irish families, Dr. O'Sullivan's work is likely to become a standard reference book on family history.

Exhausted perhaps by the 139 closely-printed pages of notes, more in the nature of a huge appendix than a component part of the work, the reader is rewarded in the fourth part by one of the most important

and delightful documents that have come out of 18th century Ireland: The Memoirs of Arthur O'Neill. These are here presented for the first time substantially without alteration from the MS., one of the Bunting papers in the library of the Queen's University, Belfast. Arthur O'Neill, one of the last of the itinerant harpers, was born some four years before Carolan died. At Bunting's instance he dictated his memoirs to a copyist in Belfast—what a pity some one did not do the same service for Carolan! O'Neill, a man of proud bearing, was somewhat of a personage in his day. It was he who re-strung the harp which is known as Brian Boru's and led a procession with it through the streets of Limerick, playing Irish airs. At a "Milesian" entertainment given by Lord Kenmare in Killarney, O'Neill, groping for a place at the table (for he was blind), proclaimed, amidst the applause of the noble company, that where he sat should be considered head of the table. In the account of his peregrinations from one gentleman's seat to another we are afforded an intimate glimpse of the whole living procession of life in the 18th century, often a boisterous rollicking cavalcade, not at all so subdued and dispirited as some historians would make it out to be.

The frontispiece to the first volume is a reproduction in colour of the portrait of Carolan, attributed to Francis Bindon, and painted from life. The frontispiece to the second volume is not quite so happy. It was painted by J. C. Timbrell in 1844, at the height of the "Gothic" period and has plenty of "Gothic" quality and fussy romanticism. The melancholy harper, beautifully attired, plays to a group consisting mainly of handsome ladies and a comfortable friar in full habit. There are sundry pieces of medieval armour, a greyhound and other such properties, dear to the heart of Walter Scott, but repugnant to the classical spirit of the 18th century. The bas-relief of Carolan, commissioned by Lady Morgan for St. Patrick's Cathedral, might have been a more suitable choice, if only because it is simpler and more classical.

And the fine portrait of Arthur O'Neill, painted from life by Conn Ó Domhnaill, at Larkfield, would have been a more authentic illustration to his Memoirs than the rather familiar and somewhat desiccated engraving by Smyth which Dr. O'Sullivan reproduces. O'Neill, as his Memoirs show and Ó Domhnaill's portrait corroborates, was an upstanding, sturdy character, not at all the feeble dawdling figure of the engraving.

All in all, this is a monumental work and will long grace the shelves of libraries, private as well as public. In production, these beautiful volumes could scarcely be excelled. We owe Dr. O'Sullivan a deep debt of gratitude and our gratitude will extend also to those bodies and persons that have made their publication possible, especially that anonymous donor whose enlightened patronage is beginning to mean so much to Irish artists and scholars.

T. W.

THE CELTS. By T. G. E. Powell. London: Thames and Hudson. 1958. 25/-.

By accepting Dr. Daniel's invitation to write a short but comprehensive account of the Celts, Mr. Powell set himself a severe task. This is a field in which theories flourish more than facts, and the theoreticians are always ready to strike down intruders into their domains. Mr. Powell divides the available space into three major sections of equal length, followed by a fourth shorter section. The title of section one, 'Finding the Celts', is self-explanatory. After a survey of the European prehistoric background, and a review of the historic material of Herodotus and Caesar, Mr. Powell traces the origin of Celtic society to the Hallstatt chieftains of the seventh century B.C. The second section, 'The Celts in life', deals with their social and military organisation, and the third, 'The Celtic Supernatural', with their religious beliefs.

In Mr. Powell's opinion the Celts reached their acme in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., when their influence ranged from Ireland to Asia Minor. Europe could not contain both the Celtic chieftains and the Roman Empire, and the campaigns of Julius Caesar ended the Celtic world on the Continent. The final shorter section, 'The Celtic Survival', describes the survival of Celtic groups in Ireland and in northern and western Britain. The same isolation that saved this area from the Roman armies also saved it from the later barbarian hordes. Mr. Powell draws heavily on the Celtic literature which thus survived in Ireland and Wales to illustrate many aspects of Celtic life throughout its long history.

Mr. Powell has acquitted himself well in his task. In addition to the excellent plates that are such a feature of the 'Ancient Peoples and Places' series, he has gallantly included a two-page table setting historical records on the one hand against archaeological records on the other. Let us hope that some Irish scholar will soon pluck up enough courage to follow Mr. Powell's example.

G. F. M.

THE ANCIENT AND HISTORIC MONUMENTS OF THE ISLE OF MAN. Douglas, The Manx Museum and National Trust, 1958, pp. 48, price 1/6d.

The archaeology of the Isle of Man is, in many respects, a microcosm of that of these islands as a whole and for such a small area the Isle is surprisingly rich in monuments of all periods. This general guide is introduced by a brief but informative summary of the prehistory and history of the island which is followed by a selected list of the major monuments with descriptive notes on each. Succinct but clear directions for reaching each site are given and for further ease of location they are marked on a large and uncluttered map. Convenience of consultation has been provided for by an index, and ten pages of excellent photographs illustrate the

more important monuments. The archaeologically-minded visitor to the island who fails to equip himself with this attractive vade-mecum is certainly placing himself at a serious disadvantage in exploring the island's antiquities and is depriving himself, as well, of a useful list of books and articles for further reading.

A. T. L.

A GUIDE TO CREGNEASH: THE MANX OPEN-AIR FOLK MUSEUM. Douglas, The Manx Museum and National Trust, 1957; price 1/-.

So little endeavour has been made to ascertain the sober realities of the life of the Irish people down the ages that it is not uncommon to meet persons whose vision has been so perverted by wild and baseless dreams of a universal ancient grandeur that they regard the traditional Irish house as a hovel forced upon the people by alien tyranny. Their best word for it is "cottage" (a name by which no Irishman ever called his *house*); the word which best expresses their real attitude to it is "cabin". If such persons can be converted from their stiff-necked worship of the golden calf of a bogus antiquity, the reading of this admirably produced little guide could be their salvation from the senseless idolatry into which they have fallen. The traditional house of the Isle of Man bears a close family resemblance to the Irish one but is fast disappearing from the island. To preserve examples of it for posterity part of the village of Cregneash in the Meayl peninsula has been acquired by the Manx Museum and National Trust. The project began in 1938 with a single house and the Folk Museum now embraces five separate buildings with their gardens and enclosures. One of the houses is fully furnished, almost all the contents being the property of its former owner, Harry Kelly, crofter and fisherman and a native Manx speaker. There is also a weaver's shed with its loom and a turner's workshop with the craftsman's gear. All are described in the Guide and illustrated with excellent photographs.

A. T. L.

HANDBOOK ON THE TRADITIONAL OLD IRISH DRESS. H. F. McClintock. Dundalk, Dundalgan Press (W. Tempest) Ltd., 1958; price 15/-.

Major H. F. McClintock, whose *Old Irish Dress* from the same publisher was the first scientific study of the history of Irish costume and remains the standard authority on it, has condensed in the present book the salient points of the larger work into twenty-two pages of text. To these he has added three pages dealing with the errors which have damned the supposedly "national" costume invented in modern times for Irish pipe bands and dancers, particularly the strange and lamentable mistake which foisted on unsuspecting enthusiasts the notion that the kilt was the national dress of men in ancient Ireland, and puts forward suggestions for a reformed ceremonial costume based on the four items of old Irish dress: the mantle, saffron shirt, jacket and trews. To judge by the number

of queries about Irish "national costume" which are received by the personnel of learned institutions and societies, Major McClintock's *Old Irish Dress* is not as well-known as it ought to be, especially among the Irish public, and there is still, evidently, widespread ignorance of the facts about Irish dress which he has so excellently documented. It is to be hoped that the present shorter and cheaper version of the work will go far to remedy this regrettable situation. It is a curious trait of human nature that it sometimes prefers the cloudy legend to the plainer truth and it may be that McClintock is the victim of this subconscious reluctance to forego the fairytale. For its size the book is lavishly illustrated with twenty plates, three of them in colour. It is produced in the finest tradition of a publisher who has enriched the country with so many original works on so many aspects of Irish history and culture.

A. T. L.

ANALECTA HIBERNICA, No. 20. Survey of Documents in Private Keeping, 2nd series. By John F. Ainsworth and Edward MacLysaght. Irish Manuscripts Commission. Dublin, 1958. 30/-.

As well as reports on several further collections, this volume contains a list, arranged alphabetically under owners' names, of all the collections which have so far been examined; anyone interested can consult the reports on these in the National Library. The reports now printed include an interesting calendar of Nugent papers; many of these are preserved in a collection which was made in the 19th century by a member of the family, who made careful copies or abstracts from original documents which have been lost in the destruction of the Public Record Office in 1922. The Power O'Shee papers contain copies of a great many wills and other documents of Kilkenny interest, some of which were exhibited at a general meeting of the Society in April, 1897. Among them is a record of the service in the French army of Col. Richard O'Shee, who was born in Kilkenny in 1740 and died at St. Germain-en-laye in 1802. He was on board the *Fraternité* with General Hoche in the expedition of December, 1796, to Bantry Bay; he is mentioned several times in Wolfe Tone's Memoirs. In the Colclough papers and others calendared here one can see examples of the processes by which in many parts of the country men of newly gained wealth obtained possession of land in Ireland; in the early years of the 17th century small holdings of Irish proprietors who had not suffered confiscation were frequently acquired for small sums by sale or mortgage; and half a century later, at the time of the Cromwellian settlement, some of the deeds show typical instances of the larger grantees purchasing for very little the proportions of land allotted to soldiers for arrears of pay. It is the intention of the editors to print further series of these reports; this will be welcomed, as the documents provide most useful material for the detailed study of Irish history.

L. P.

SEANCHAS ARDMHACHA. JOURNAL OF THE ARMAGH DIOCESAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. VOL. 3, No. 1. 1958.

The 1958 issue of Seanchas Ardmhacha maintains the high level of scholarship of its predecessors. *The Donaghmore Franciscans* by An tAth. Éamon Ó Doibhlinn gives information about Franciscan friars who kept the faith alive during the years of persecution in Dungannon district. In Part II of *the Clergy of Blessed Oliver Plunkett*, An tAth. Donnchadh Mac Phóil, S.T.L., gives a biographical dictionary of the secular clergy. *The Diamond Fight of 1795 and the Resultant Expulsions* by Patrick Tohall is an account of a pre-arranged sectarian combat which was made the pretext for the violent expulsion of ten thousand Catholics, or more. Rev. Tomás Ó Fiaich, M.A., in *The Fall and Return of John MacMoyer*, brings forward unpublished evidence pointing to the final repentance of another of those who drove Blessed Oliver Plunkett to his death. *Ancient altar-plate and other furnishings of the church of Armagh* by Rev. Benignus Millett, O.F.M., deals with altar-plate and other church furnishings which had been left in the safe keeping of the Irish Franciscans in Louvain in the 17th century. T. G. F. Paterson, M.A., publishes a list of *County Armagh Householders, 1664-1665*, compiled from copies of two County Armagh Hearth Money Rolls, the originals having been destroyed in the Four Courts in 1922. In *Robert S. MacAdam's Louth Correspondents (1831-1845)*, Séamus P. Ó Mórdha, M.A., prints some interesting letters and other material. *A Statistical Return of Armagh Diocese in 1836*, by Rev. Louis O'Kane, C.C., gives an account of the state of Catholicism in Armagh Diocese at the beginning of the 19th century. An tAth. Éamon Ó Doibhlinn publishes Part III of *Domhnach Mór* which deals with the Plantation Era. Seán De Rís, M.A., edits the fifth poem, An Dá Sheán, of *Danta fá Chléir Ardmhacha*. Documents relating to the Irish Dominicans are edited by Gearóid Mac Niocaill in *Cáipéisí Doimniceánacha ón 17ú Céad*. A Photographic Feature has some interesting photographs of Blessed Oliver Plunkett. The *Chronicle for 1957* deals with: Events of Local Historical Interest, Publications of Local Historical Interest, Diocesan History in the Making, 1957, and Cumann Seanchas Ardmhacha, 1957.

C. S.

JOURNAL OF THE COUNTY LOUTH ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY. VOL. XIV, No. 1. 1957.

Rev. Fr. Colmcille, O.C.S.O., edits an important Mellifont Document, an *Inspeximus* granted by Edward III (28th September, 1348) of all earlier charters to the monks of Mellifont. A Census of Tallanstown Parish, made in 1834, is published by Rev. Dermot MacIvor. Rev. Tomás Ó Fiaich, M.A., edits Blessed Oliver Plunkett's Report on the Diocese of Armagh, the earliest report sent to Rome after Blessed Oliver's arrival in his new diocese as archbishop. H. G. Tempest gives

an account of a Seventeenth-century Map of Dundalk and Castletown. He also describes a Souterrain in Kilcurry Townland. A Burial at Rossmakay, Co. Louth, is described by Ellen Prendergast, and an account of the Drogheda Corporation Mace, Sword of State and Plate is given by Joseph Carr. The Annual Report shows that the society is in a flourishing condition.

JOURNAL OF THE CO. KILDARE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY. VOL. XIII,
No. 7. 1958.

In this issue of the Kildare Journal, Major-General Sir Eustace F. Tickell, K.B.E., C.B., M.C., continues his account of the Eustace Family and their Lands in County Kildare. Dunganstown Castle is described by P. J. Murray. "Fear Ceall" publishes chapters XV, XVI, and XVII of Conntae an Ríogh ("King's County"). That the steady progress of the Kildare Society is being maintained is evidenced by the popularity of the Excursions and the increased attendances at them.

RIOCHT NA MIDHE. RECORDS OF MEATH ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY. VOL. 1, No. 4. 1958.

The Foreword to this issue of the Meath Journal, by the President, the Very Rev. R. R. Callary, P.P., V.F., tells us that the Society is in a flourishing condition. As he says: "I was present at the birth of the Society in 1917, and many a time I thought I should be the lone mourner at its funeral. Happily it has lived throughout the years and is now strong and healthy with all the potentialities of further development." In the opening article Fr. John Brady traces a brief account of St. Patrick's missionary work in Meath and of the continuation of that work by his successors. Loughan and Dulane, two of the three mediaeval parishes of the present Parish of Carnaross, are described by Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., Ph.D. "The Hereditary Lands and Royal Tuath of the O'Melaghlin's", by Very Rev. Dr. Moran, P.P., deals principally with the movements that brought all of the Midlands as far as the Shannon under the jurisdiction of the King of Tara. Matthew O'Reilly collects some information about the Plunkets of Loughcrew of whom very little is known. A ruined burial chamber at Drewstown and the ecclesiastical foundations which remain at Girley are described by R. F. G. Adams, M.A. M. K. McGurl, M.A., gives interesting accounts of St. Fagan's Museum, Cardiff, and Danish Folk Museums in Country and Town, and urges that the Proposed Museum at Tara will not be a dead and uninspired building but one worthy of its location. The Hon. Editor publishes "The State of the Poor in 1834", which is a document, discovered a couple of years ago in a house in the Loughcrew district, containing answers to a number of queries regarding the state of the poor in Ireland. It is suggested that the present manuscript is a draft proposed by one of the persons replying and that it

formed the basis for the final reply. Other interesting articles are: "Altmush Corn-Drying Kiln", by Beryl F. E. Moore, M.B., "St. Edward's Crown in Ireland", by Henry Gerrard, and a "Note on an unrecorded Passage Grave", by R. F. G. Adams, M.A.

OLD KILKENNY REVIEW. 1958. No. 10.

Interesting lectures and outings, and a considerable increase in the number of members show, as the Editor points out, that the Kilkenny Society continues to flourish. An account of the Famine in Kilkenny is given by Thomas P. O'Neill, M.A. Leo McAdams has a paper on a gallant sportsman and pioneer airman, Denys Corbett Wilson. Bonnetts-town Hall and Castle are described by Commander G. Marescaux. An account of the Nore View House School and its whereabouts are furnished by Mrs. W. J. Phelan in "A Forgotten Kilkenny School". Information about the ancient corporate town of Newtown Jerpoint is given by W. J. Pilsworth. Ellen Prendergast describes a Bronze Axehead from Co. Kilkenny, a Souterrain recently discovered in Co. Kilkenny, and the Moat of Ballyfoyle. Much interesting information is given by Dr. F. R. Walsh in "Castle Eve", and by Miss M. Cassin, B.Sc., in "Here and There in St. Canice's Parish".

GWERIN. VOLUME 11. December, 1958. No. 2.

The first article in this issue of Gwerin is "Yeoman's English", by the late Professor W. J. Gruffydd. This was broadcast on 22nd March, 1955, in the B.B.C. Home Service, as an introduction to a series of talks on dialects. In "Charcoal Burners' Huts", James Walton has brought together in one paper such information as he has been able to collect from illustrations and descriptions of charcoal burners' huts in various scattered journals, some of which are rather difficult of access. A. T. Lucas contributes further notes to an account, which appeared in the first number of this journal, of a granary made of superimposed rings of thick straw rope (*súgán*) which still survives in certain districts of Cork and Kerry, and gives additional information both on variations in its construction and on its present and former distribution. "Rural Industry in Modern Ulster Society", by G. B. Thompson, is the second of four papers in a symposium entitled 'Simple and Advanced Techniques in Modern Society', read to Section H of the British Association, at the Glasgow Meeting, 1958. Wilfred Seaby gives interesting notes on the Ulster Drill Plough.

ULSTER FOLKLIFE. VOLUME 4. 1958.

The Secretary, G. B. Newe, reports another year of progress in the task of collecting and recording Ulster's wonderful heritage of skills and traditions. "The Ulster Landscape" is the subject of a paper by E. Estyn Evans, M.A., D.Sc. Albert Sandklef, Fil. Dr., in "The Combination of Seafaring and Farming", describes how, until quite recently,

all the inhabitants in some parts of the west coast of Sweden, especially in Onsala, were sailors, and at the same time were farmers, sailing from the beginning of March until the end of November each year, their wives meanwhile ruling the farm and its affairs. "Surviving Openfield in County Londonderry", by D. McCourt, M.A., Ph.D., is an account of two townlands that retain pre-enclosure landscapes. Caoimhin O Danachair, M.A., has a very interesting account of "Bread". In "The Blacksmith's Craft", G. B. Thompson, M.Sc., A.M.A., records some observations and impressions during a recent survey of rural conditions in Northern Ireland. "Extracts from the Committee's Collection", by K. M. Harris, M.Sc., contains a wide but necessarily brief selection of items from collectors' notebooks, answers to questionnaires and letters. Michael J. Murphy publishes a Tyrone Folktale, "Old Lord Erin's Son", and G. B. Adams has a paper on "The Emergence of Ulster as a Distinct Dialect Area". A representative selection of the large collection of papers preserved by the Scott family of Burren, near Ballynahinch, is given by Breandan MacAodha, B.A., in "A Century of Life in County Down". Notes include: "Traditions Regarding Earthworks", "Counting Rhymes", and "More Buried Horse-Skulls", by K. M. Harris, "Learning the English Alphabet: A Further Note", by Breandan MacAodha, and "The Black Pig and the Cailleach Geagain", by T. J. Barron.

C. S.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1958

At the Annual General Meeting of the Society held at the Society's House on January 28, 1958, the following were elected to their respective offices:—

PRESIDENT:—G. F. MITCHELL, M.A., F.T.C.D., *Fellow*.

HON. GENERAL SECRETARY:—A. T. Lucas, M.A., *Member*.

HON. TREASURERS:—J. Maher and B. J. Cantwell, *Members*.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL:—Miss G. C. Stacpoole, *Fellow*, Professor J. J. Tierney, *Member* and R. E. Cross, *Member*.

Dr. A. Farrington and Dr. W. O'Sullivan were appointed Hon. Auditors for the year 1958.

During the year eight meetings of the Society were held. The papers read and lectures given are listed in the *Journal* for 1958 at p. 200 and 1959 at p. 108.

During the year eight meetings of the Council were held at which the attendance was as follows:—

G. F. MITCHELL, <i>President</i> ...	7	J. MAHER, <i>Hon Treasurer</i>	3
DR. H. G. LEASK, <i>Past President</i> ...	6	B. J. CANTWELL, <i>Hon. Treasurer</i> ...	5
REV. DR. JOHN RYAN, S.J., <i>Past President</i> ...	0	DR. M. DE PAOR, <i>Member</i>	2
DISTRICT JUSTICE LIAM PRICE, <i>Past President</i> ...	7	CAOIMHÍN Ó DANACHAIR, <i>Member</i> ...	2
PROF. RUAIDHRÍ DE VALÉRA, <i>Vice-President</i> ...	3	*FRANK FOLEY, <i>Member</i> ...	4
LADY DOROTHY LOWRY-CORRY, <i>Vice-President</i> ...	0	MRS. A. K. LEASK, <i>Fellow</i>	4
PROF. M. J. O'KELLY, <i>Vice-President</i> ...	0	†PROF. R. DUDLEY EDWARDS, <i>Member</i> ...	4
PATRICK TOHALL, <i>Vice-President</i> ...	0	†DR. F. S. BOURKE, <i>Member</i>	8
A. T. LUCAS, <i>Hon. Gen. Secretary</i> ...	7	DERMOT O'CLERY, <i>Member</i>	4
		CONN R. Ó CLEÍRIGH, <i>Member</i>	4
		PROF. J. C. BRINDLEY, <i>Member</i>	4
		MISS G. C. STACPOOLE, <i>Fellow</i>	8
		R. E. CROSS, <i>Member</i> ...	6
		PROF. J. J. TIERNEY, <i>Member</i>	4

*Co-opted February 29, 1956.

†Co-opted April 24, 1957.

The following nominations for President, Officers and Members of Council for 1959 were received:—

PRESIDENT:—G. F. Mitchell, M.A., F.T.C.D., *Fellow*.

HON. GENERAL SECRETARY:—A. T. Lucas, M.A., *Member*.

HON. TREASURERS:—J. Maher and B. J. Cantwell, *Members*.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL:—Dr. Joseph Raftery, *Member*; Rev. C. Scantlebury, S.J.; E. G. Barton.

The foregoing nominations being in accordance with the Statutes and Bye-Laws and not in excess of the several vacancies, the persons named are to be declared elected to the respective offices for which they have been named.

On the nomination of the Council Dr. A. Farrington and Dr. W. O'Sullivan have been appointed Hon. Auditors for the year 1959.

Meetings of the Society during 1959 will be held as follows:—

Tuesday, January 27	...	...	Annual General Meeting.
„ March 3	...	...	Meeting for Papers.
„ April 21	...	...	Quarterly Meeting.
„ June 2	...	...	Meeting for Papers.
Date to be announced later	...	...	Quarterly (Summer) Meeting.
Tuesday, September 22	...	...	Quarterly Meeting.
„ November 3	...	...	Meeting for Papers.
„ December 8	...	...	Statutory Meeting.

EXCURSIONS.

During the year the following excursions were held:—

April 26, 1958.—To Brennanstown (dolmen), Rathmichael (church), Kilternan (dolmen), Ballyedmonduff (megalith), and Larchill (megalith). The party, which numbered 53, was led by Mr. Patrick Healy and Mr. Marcus Ó hEochaidh.

July 4-8, 1958.—To County Kilkenny. The centre for the excursion was Kilkenny City to which the party was welcomed at a Civic Reception by His Honour Mr. M. J. McGuinness, Mayor of Kilkenny and, on behalf of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society by Mrs. M. M. Phelan, Vice-President. The party, which numbered 63 and was led by Dr. H. G. Leask, Miss H. M. Roe, Mr. P. J. Hartnett, Miss E. Prendergast, Rev. J. Clohosey, Dr. Frank Walsh, Mrs. J. P. Healy and Mr. T. Hoyne, visited the following sites:—Kilkenny Castle and other sites in the City, Clara Castle, Gowran Church, Ullard church and high cross, St. Mullins (early monastic site), Inistioge Priory, Jerpoint Abbey, Danesfort (rath), Freshford (Romanesque doorway), Fertagh round tower, Kilcooly Abbey,

Tullaroan (rath), Kells Priory, Kilree (church, round tower and high cross), Leac an Scáil (megalith), Ahenny (high crosses), Kilkieran (high crosses), Callan (church and motte), Burnchurch Castle.

September 27, 1958.—To Dunshaughlin (lintel), Duleek (church and round tower), Fourknocks (passage grave). The party numbered 71 and was led by Miss H. M. Roe, Dr. H. G. Leask and Mr. P. J. Hartnett.

MEMBERSHIP.

During the year 1 member was advanced to fellowship and 2 fellows and 34 members were elected.

Advanced to Fellowship:—Basil O'Connell, K.M.

Fellows:—Dr. J. B. Kearney; Dr. Ian A. P. Smythe-Wood.

Members:—John Corcoran, M.Ch.; Martin P. Carney; G. K. Miley; Miss C. L. S. Catt; John Cussen; Miss K. M. Dickie; Rev. W. T. McDowell; Prof. T. Jones Hughes; G. D. Liversage; The Deputy Keeper, Public Record Office, Belfast; Glenstal Abbey Archaeological Society; Joseph Burrows; An t-Onórach Garech de Brún; T. A. C. Carson; Éamonn de h-Óir; Walter Joyce; Rev. P. Lionard, C.S.Sp.; Austin C. Murray; Seán Ó Nualláin; The Director, Ordnance Survey; J. R. Pope; Michael B. Wynne; Frank Gibney; Mrs. Sarah M. Neill; Miss N. M. Douglas; Dean Gunther White; Thomas Pierce; Hon. Desmond Guinness; Mrs. Desmond Guinness; Miss Kathleen Hughes; Seminar für Deutsche Altertums u. Volkskunde im Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte; Prof. T. S. Ó Maille; Mrs. Anna Nesham; Mrs. Elizabeth Davies.

The deaths of 1 Honorary Fellow, 2 Fellows and 7 Members were reported.

Hon. Fellow:—Dr. Charles McNeill.

Fellows:—Thomas H. Mason; John English.

Members:—Patrick Broderick; William F. Figgis; Patrick Smyth; Stephen P. Gahagan; Seán Ó Cuill; Francis McCormick; A. G. Davis.

The resignations of 2 fellows and 19 members were received.

The names of the following have been removed from the Roll under Rule 10—they may be restored to membership on payment of the amount due:—Leslie C. Brooks; Dr. Thomas A. Callaghan; Major W. S. Corken; Miss C. B. Crawford; Augustus Cullen; Miss Sarah Fagan; Thomas Hoyne; Brendan Hyland; Miss M. J. Loughnane; Michael T. O'Connor; Micheál Ó Failbhe; V. Rev. James Canon Sherwin.

The losses to the Society by deaths and resignations amounted to 31. The number removed from the Roll under Rule 10 is 14 and the accessions were 36.

The number of Fellows and Members now on the Roll is distributed as follows:—

Honorary Fellows	...	...	5
Life Fellows	...	...	30
Fellows	...	...	69
Life Members	...	...	42
Members	...	...	478
TOTAL			<hr/> 624

FINANCE.

The total receipts from all sources during the year 1958, from subscriptions, rents, dividends, sale of publications, donations, excursions and miscellaneous receipts amounted to £2,284 1s. 7d.

The total expenditure was £2,491 1s. 3d. as follows:—Printing *Journal* 1957 Pt. 2 and 1958 Pts. 1 & 2 £1,039 15s. 0d.; illustrating *Journal* 1958 Pts. 1 & 2 and 1959 Pt. 1 £103 11s. 9d.; roof reconstruction and general house repairs £489 5s. 0d.; excursions, fuel, light, salaries, rents, insurance, Bank interest and general expenses £858 9s. 6d. The Society holds investments of £155 (face value) Post Office Saving Certificates; £280 4½% New Land Bonds; £100 3½% 4th National Loan; £1,010 2s. 0d. 5% Dublin Corporation Stock; £274 3s. 5d. deposit Post Office Savings Bank.

The total amount of contributions to the Roof Repair Fund received to date is £503 7s. 8d.

LIBRARY.

In addition to current periodicals the following publications have been received:—

The Ancient and Present State of Youghal by Thomas Lord, presented by Dr. F. S. Bourke.

My Heart Remembers How by M. P. Linehan, presented by Dr. F. S. Bourke.

Architecture in Britain: The Middle Ages by Geoffrey Webb, presented by Dr. H. G. Leask.

The High Crosses of Western Ossory by Helen M. Roe, presented by the author.

For Review:—

Josef Szövérfy: *Irishes Erzählgut im Abendland*.

Major H. F. McClintock: *Handbook on the Traditional Old Irish Dress*.

Dr. H. G. Leask: *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings* Vol. II.

Stuart Piggott: *Scotland before History*.

Máire and Liam de Paor: *Early Christian Ireland*.

Monuments of the Isle of Man published by the Manx Museum.

Analecta Hibernica Vol. 20.

William O'Sullivan (Ed.): *The Stafford Inquisition of Mayo*.

Liam Price: *The Place-Names of Co. Wicklow, VI—The Barony of Shillelagh*.

Helen M. Roe: *The High Crosses of Western Ossory*.

Old Kilkenny Review No. 10 (1956).

Thomas P. O'Neill: *Sources of Irish Local History*.

T. G. E. Powell: *The Celts*.

J. F. S. Stone: *Wessex*.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR 1958

To Subscriptions :	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Fellows	164	18	0						
Members	889	18	11						
In advance	35	2	0						
In arrear	76	8	0						
				1,166	6	11			
" Life Compositions				55	0	0			
" Rents				364	19	9			
" Excursions				110	5	8			
" Sale of Publications				325	14	3			
" Contributions to Roof Fund				53	4	0			
" Miscellaneous :									
Dividends :									
4½% New Land Bonds	7	17	6						
3½% National Loan	3	10	0						
5% Dublin Corporation									
Stock	31	11	4						
Postage refund				42	18	10			
Insurance refund				3	3				
Donation				10	16	9			
Contribution from Trinity College,				5	0	0			
Dublin, towards costs of publication of papers by College staff									
Teas at meetings	18	18	5						
Refund half share of costs of repairing party gutters	19	3							
	129	14	6						
" Transfer from Provincial Bank to National Bank	208	11	0						
" Debit balance forward to 1959	136	19	6						
	1,252	13	1						
	£3,673	14	2						
By Debit forward from 1957									
" Journal :									
Printing 1957 II, 1958 I & II	1,039	15	0						
Illustrating 1958 I & II, 1959 I	103	11	9						
" Excursions									
" Library									
" Fuel and Light									
" Rents, Taxes, Insurance									
" Salaries and Wages									
" Miscellaneous Printing and Stationery									
" Petty Cash and Post									
" Incidentals :									
Transfer from Provincial Bank to National Bank	136	19	6						
Transfer to Post Office Savings Bank	41	5	0						
Carriage on Journals sold	4	13	3						
Telephone	14	14	9						
Valuation fee	2	12	6						
House Repairs :									
General	20	15	0						
Roof reconstruction	468	10	0						
Bank fees and cheque books	3	9	2						
Bank Interest	36	19	9						
	729	18	11						
	£3,673	14	2						

We have examined and compared the 1958 annual accounts with the vouchers and the bank statement and have found them correct showing a debit balance due to the bank of £1,252 13s. 1d. (One thousand, two hundred and fifty-two pounds, thirteen shillings and one penny) on the 31st December 1958.

The Society holds the following investments in capital funds :

- £155 Face Value Post Office Saving Certificates ;
- £280 Face Value 4½% New Land Bonds ;
- £100 Face Value 3½% Fourth National Loan 1956-70 ;
- £1,010 2s. 0d. Face Value 5% Dublin Corporation Stock 1968-73 ;
- £285 18s. 5d. Post Office Savings Bank Deposit including accrued interest to 31st December 1958.

2nd April, 1959.

(Signed) WILLIAM O'SULLIVAN }
A. FARRINGTON }
Honorary Auditors.

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List of Societies, etc., from whom publications are received

- Aarbøger Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, Denmark.
Aarhus: Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab.
Académie de Dijon.
Académie de la République Populaire Roumaine.
Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique.
Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.
American Antiquarian Society.
Archæologica Belgica.
Archæological Institute, Slovak Academy of Science, Nitra.
Barcelona: Cuadernos de Arquitectura.
Barcelona: Museo Arqueológico.
Bergen: Universitetsbiblioteket.
Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Bern: Stadt und Hochschulbibliothek.
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, India.
Bollandistes, Société des.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society.
British School at Rome.
Bruxelles: Société Royale d'Archéologie.
Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.
Cambrian Archæological Association.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historical Society.
Cork Historical and Archæological Society.
Cymmrodorion, Honourable Society of.
Deutsches Archæologisches Institut.
Dorset Natural History and Archæological Society.
Essex Archæological Society.
Finska Fornminnesföreningen.
Folklore of Ireland Society.
Friends Historical Society.
Galway Archæological Society.
Genève: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire.
Gent: Seminarie voor Archæologie.
Glasgow Archæological Society.
Hamburg: Archæologia Geographica.
Henry Bradshaw Society.
Institut Archéologique Liégeois.
Institut National d'Archéologie, Prague.
Istituto di Studi Liguri, Bordighera.
Irish Book Lover.
Irish Historical Studies.
Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society.
Kent Archæological Society.
Kildare Archæological Society.
Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti.
Louth Archæological Society.
Madrid: Comisaria General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas.
Montgomeryshire Collections.
Musée Archéologique de Poznan.
Museo de Pontevedra, Spain.
National Museum of Canada.
Netherlands, State Service for Archæological Investigations.
Norsk Folkemuseum.
Numismatic Society, London.
Oslo: Universitetets Oldsaksamling.
Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.
Paris: Société d'Anthropologie.
Pennsylvania Historical Society.
Prehistoric Society.
Rhineland, Verein von Altertumsfreunden.
Royal Anthropological Institute.
Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
Royal Historical Society.
Royal Irish Academy.
Schweizerisches Landesmuseum.
Shropshire Archæological Society.
Smithsonian Institution.
Sociedade Martins Sarmento, Guimaraes, Portugal.
Societas Scientiarum Lodziensis.
Societas Scientiarum Varsaviensis.
Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.
Société Préhistorique Française.
Société Préhistorique Polonaise.
Société Royale des Lettres de Lund.
Society of Antiquaries of London.
Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Somersetshire Archæological Society.
South African Archæological Society.
Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
Stockholm: Royal Library.
Suffolk Institute of Archæology.
Surrey Archæological Society.
Sussex Archæological Society.
Tarragona: Real Sociedad Arqueológica.
Thoresby Society.
Trondhjem: Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab.
Ulster Journal of Archæology.
Uppsala: Kungl. Universitetets Bibliotek.
Viking Society.
Warszawa: Panstwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne.
Wiltshire Archæological Society.
Yorkshire Archæological Society.

